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Contributions toward a history of Arabico-Gothic culture

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARD A HISTORY OF ARABICO-GOTHIC CULTURE

VOLUME II

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARD

A HISTORY

OF

ARABICO-GOTHIC CULTURE

VOLUME II

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FOREWORD.

The present volume contains the *Prolegomena* to a work on the Arabic element in the Germanic languages which is in preparation. It attempts to remove the rubbish of ages which has accumulated in palaeography, Bible criticism, history, and philology, and which has been hiding the truth underneath it.

The first chapter clears up the mystery of the *Letter to the Goths*, heretofore ascribed without a shadow of a doubt to Jerome. To accomplish this task successfully it became necessary to investigate Jerome's technique in his translations of the Psalter and his habit of quoting from the Bible. The result of this investigation appears in the second chapter. It also had to be shown that Carolingian scholarship indulged without a blush in plagiarism and forgery based on Jerome's text, and this was shown in the procedure of one of the best men of his time, Paschasius Radbertus.

The fourth chapter deals with the important subject of the Western or Syrio-Latin texts of the Gospels, and it is shown that no Western rite had ever existed, that the texts ascribed to that rite and to the fourth and fifth centuries were all in reality written in the eighth and ninth centuries, and that their Syriacism was due to the Syrio-Arabic influence upon Spanish scholarship as developed in France. Here I touch on but a very small amount of the material available to me. A fuller treatment must be left to a host of prospective Ph.D's, who can follow out *ad libitum* my discovery and suggestion of method.

In the fifth chapter I treat the much neglected subject of ghost words in the Germanic languages. Here, too, I have been able to avail myself of but a small part of the material already known to me. I shall return to it at a later time.

I must here reiterate my warm thanks to Mr. John B. Stetson, Jr., without whose substantial aid and sympathy this work would have been delayed for many years.

THE AUTHOR.

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THE LETTER TO THE GOTHS.

J. Mühlau [1] has summarized Jerome's *Letter to Sunnia and Fretela* as follows: "Shortly before 400, several years after the appearance of the Gallican Psalter (in 392), two Gothic clericals, Sunnia and Fretela, write Jerome a letter, in which they point out the variations of his text from their Greek (and Gothic) text and accuse him occasionally of too free a method of translation. Jerome justifies himself about the year 405 in his 106. Epistle. He shows that his text corresponds to the original text, the *Hebraica veritas,* and explains his technique of translation, which differs from theirs." [2]

The present investigation will show that the Letter is a Carolingian forgery, belonging to the same school that produced the famous forgery of the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, and that the purpose of this forgery was to draw the Visigoths away from the school of Theodulphus, which relied chiefly on the old Greek texts, and bring them in line with the rest of France, where the Gallican Psalter was in use.

> "1. Uere in uobis apostolicus et propheticus sermo conpletus est: *in omnem terram exiit sonus eorum et in fines orbis terrae uerba eorum* (Ps. XVIII. 5, Rom. X. 18). Quis hoc crederet ut barbara Getarum lingua Hebraicam quaereret ueritatem et dormitantibus, immo contendentibus Graecis ipsa Germania spiritus sancti eloquia scrutaretur? *In ueritate cognoui, quod non est personarum acceptor deus, sed in omni gente, qui timet deum et operatur dei iustitiam, acceptus est illi* (Act. X. 34-35). Dudum callosa

1 *Zur Frage nach der gotischen Psalmenübersetzung,* Kiel 1904.

2 *Ibid.,* p. 57.

> tenendo capulo manus et digiti tractandis sagittis aptiores ad stilum calamumque mollescunt et bellicosa pectora uertuntur in mansuetudinem Christianam. Nunc et Esaiae uaticinium cernimus opere conpletum: *concident gladios suos in aratra et lanceas suas in falces et non adsumet gens contra gentem gladium et non discent ultra pugnare* (Esai. II. 4). Rursumque in eodem: *pascetur lupus cum agno et pardus requiescet cum haedo et uitulus et leo et taurus pascentur simul et puer paruulus ducet eos et bos et ursus in commune pascentur paruulique eorum erunt pariter et leo et bos comedent paleas* (Esai. XI. 6-7), non ut simplicitas in feritatem transeat, sed ut feritas discat simplicitatem." [3]

Here we have a paean to the Goths who abandon war for religious pursuits and who, about to translate the Bible, or parts of the Bible, into their language, inquire of Jerome for the Hebrew truth. "While the Greeks are sleeping, nay, contending, Germany searches the wisdom of the Holy Spirit." This last sentence makes no sense. What does it mean, "the Greeks are sleeping," and with whom are the Greeks "contending?" The next paragraph correctly states that when there is a contention between the Greek and the Latin versions, Jerome has recourse to the Hebrew truth, hence it may be possible that "the Greeks contending" may be a brief statement of the same sentiment, but Jerome would never have abbreviated a sentence in such a manner. He frequently uses *dormitare,* but as most of the ideas in the Letter to the Goths are cribbed out of Jerome's Letter to Pammachius, "De optimo genere interpretandi," [4] it is most likely that the

[3] *CSEL.*, vol. LV, p. 247 ff.

[4] *Ep.* LVII, in *CSEL.*, vol. LIV, p. 503 ff.

dormitare here is due to a confusion with "he did not stick to the *dead* letter," which is found there.[5]

The forgers of the ninth century were in the habit of pasting together bits, chiefly from Jerome and Isidore, in their attempt to give their productions an aspect of authenticity. In the introduction to the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals we find the sentence, "quod si veritas est quaerenda e pluribus, Graecorum sequamur stilum eorumque imitemur dictiones atque exemplaria; sin minus, ipsi dicant atque exponant quibus tot sunt exemplaria quot codices."[6] The whole is a paraphrase of the same idea as in the Letter to the Goths quoted above, except that "Greek" is substituted for "Hebrew," while "tot sunt exemplaria quot codices" is bodily cribbed from the *Praefatio in Librum Josue* (Migne, vol. XXVIII, col. 463), and the *Praefatio in Quatuor Evangelia* (Migne, vol. XXIX, col. 526).

It is this patching of Jerome scraps which makes the identification of the passages so difficult and gives to the casual observer the appearance of good Hieronymian phraseology, based on the identity or similarity of expressions. We still have a serious difficulty to overcome in the first paragraph. The quotations from the Acts and Isaiah are not Jerome's lemmata. Jerome repeatedly asserted that he did not necessarily follow his own translation, especially where the meaning in the Vulgate was identical with the Hebrew, but how could he have quoted Isaiah XI. 6, 7 from any text which differed so widely from his own version from the Hebrew? In the Letter to the Goths he is made to say that he always goes back to the Hebrew for his Old Testament, and here he quotes

5 "Nec adsedit litterae *dormitanti* et putida rusticorum interpretatione se torsit, sed quasi captiuos sensus in suam linguam uictoris iure transposuit," *ibid.*, p. 512.

6 P. Hinschius, *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae*, Lipsiae 1863, p. 17.

the Septuagint. In his translation of Isaiah from the Hebrew, made in 392, that is, long before he was supposed to have written to the Goths, and in his Commentary to Isaiah, written in 410, that is, long after the Letter must have been written, he translated from the Hebrew *ovis* and *vitulus*, for what in the Latin form of the Septuagint appears as *taurus* and *bos*. This is a fundamental change, such as he, in this very Letter, deprecated in the case of νυκτικόραξ and in many other cases. How could Jerome have defended any translation from the Hebrew and encouraged the Goths to follow the Hebrew verity, when in the very Introduction to his Letter he violated his own precept in a most flagrant manner?

> "2. Quaeritis a me rem magni operis et maioris inuidiae, in qua scribentis non ingenium, sed eruditio conprobetur, ut, dum ipse cupio iudicare de ceteris, iudicandum me omnibus praebeam et in opere Psalterii iuxta digestionem schedulae uestrae, ubicumque inter Latinos Graecosque contentio est, quid magis Hebraeis conveniat, significem. In quo illud breuiter admoneo, ut sciatis aliam esse editionem, quam Origenes et Caesariensis Eusebius omnesque Graeciae tractatores κοινά —id est communem— appellant atque uulgatam et a plerisque nunc Λουκιάνειος dicitur, aliam septuaginta interpretum, quae et in ἑξαπλοῖς codicibus repperitur et a nobis in Latinum sermonem fideliter uersa est et Hierosolymae atque in orientis ecclesiis decantatur. Super qua re et sanctus filius meus Auitus saepe quaesierat et, quia se occasio fratris nostri Firmi presbyteri dedit, qui mihi uestram epistulam tradidit a uobis, scribens in commune respondeo et me magno amicitiae libero faenore, quod, quanto magis soluimus, plus debemus.

> Sicut autem in nouo testamento, si quando apud Latinos quaestio exoritur et est inter exemplaria uarietas, recurrimus ad fontem Graeci sermonis, quo nouum scriptum est instrumentum, ita et in ueteri testamento, si quando inter Graecos Latinosque diuersitas est, ad Hebraicam confugimus ueritatem, ut, quicquid de fonte proficiscitur, hoc quaeramus in riuulis. Κοινὴ autem ista, hoc est communis, editio ipsa est, quae et Septuaginta. Sed hoc interest inter utramque, quod κοινὴ pro locis et temporibus et pro uoluntate scriptorum uetus corrupta editio est, ea autem, quae habetur in ἑξαπλοῖς et quam nos uertimus, ipsa est, quae in eruditorum libris incorrupta et inmaculata septuaginta interpretum translatio reseruatur. Quicquid ergo ab hac discrepat, nulli dubium est, quin ita et ab Hebraeorum auctoritate discordet."

It would be hard to match this farrago from Jerome's writings for stupidity and contradictions. Before taking it up it is necessary to ascertain from Jerome's writings what he considered to be the Vulgate, and what formed the basis for his translation from the Greek.

Theodoretus says that there existed seven different Greek translations of the Hebrew Scriptures, namely, those by the Seventy Two, Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, the anonymous ones known as the Fifth and Sixth Editions, and the one by Lucian.[7] This analysis coincides substantially with Eusebius' account, except that here Lucian is not mentioned, and that a confusion is produced in regard to the Fifth Edition, because Eusebius describes not the order of the editions, but their position in Origen's

7 Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. LXXXIV, col. 28 f.; also in Pseudo-Athanasius, *ibid.*, vol. XXVIII, col. 433 f., and in Nicetas, *ibid.*, vol. LXIX, col. 701.

Hexapla. He speaks of the Hebrew, therefore, as the first, the transliterated Hebrew as the second, Aquila's version as the third, Symmachus' as the fourth, the Septuagint as the fifth, Theodotion's as the sixth, while in the Psalter the anonymous editions appear respectively as the sixth and seventh. This account became known chiefly through Rufinus' translation. [8]

St. Augustine, however, did not fall into the error propagated by Rufinus, but distinguished between the *Fifth Edition,* by an anonymous author, and the *Septuagint.* [9] The latter was, according to him, in use among

[8] "Inter cetera quoque eruditionum suarum studia ne illud quidem omisit Origenes perscrutari et addiscere etiam Hebraeae linguae virtutem, ut agnosceret vel ea, quae a Iudaeis Hebraeicis litteris leguntur, qualia sint, vel ceterorum interpretum, qui praeter septuaginta interpretati fuerant, quanta esset editionum diversitas, ita ut praeter istas, quae in usu sunt, Aquilae vel Symmachi vel Theodotionis, inveniret etiam alias in absconditis ac secretis latentes, in quibus ne nomina quidem interpretum repperit scripta. Hoc autem solum dicit de eis, quod aliam quidem in Actio litore apud Nicopolim, aliam in Hiericho atque in aliis alias reppererit locis. Unde et illos famosissimos codices primus ipse composuit, in quibus per singulas columellas separatim opus interpretis uniuscuiusque descripsit, ita ut primo omnium ipsa Hebraea verba Hebraeicis litteris poneret, secundo in loco per ordinem Graecis litteris e regione Hebraea verba describeret, tertiam Aquilae editionem subiungeret, quartam Symmachi, quintam septuaginta interpretum, quae nostra est, sextam Theodotionis conlocaret. Et propter huiuscemodi compositionem exemplaria ipsa nominavit Ἑξαπλᾶ, id est sextiplici ordine scripta. In psalterio autem et aliis nonnullis interserit aliqua etiam de ceteris istis editionibus, quas, quoniam sine nomine auctorum reppererat, sextam et septimam editionem nominavit," Th. Mommsen, in *Eusebius Werke,* Leipzig 1908, vol. II, part 2, p. 553 f.

[9] Even as Origen and Theodoretus made this distinction: "Παρὰ μὲν τοῖς Ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ τῷ Ἀκύλᾳ εὕρομεν τό . . . ἐν δὲ τῇ πέμπτῃ ἐκδόσει," Origen, *Comment. in Matth.,* in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca,* vol. XIII, col. 1429; "κατὰ δὲ τὴν πέμπτην ἔκδοσιν," Theodoretus, *Interpret. in Canticum Cantic., ibid.,* vol. LXXXI, col. 157; "καὶ τοῦτο ἔστιν ἀκριβῶς νοεῖν, ἔκ τε τοῦ Ἀλύλα καὶ τοῦ Συμμάχου, καὶ τῆς πέμπτης ἐκδόσεως," Theodoretus, *ibid.,* col. 181.

the Greeks, and the Latin churches read a Latin translation of this Septuagint.[10] He objected to the use of Jerome's new translation in the churches, because it was made directly from the Hebrew, whereas the Greek Septuagint enjoyed even greater sanction, hence the Latin text should be corrected directly from the Greek.[11] Origen

[10] "Nam cum fuerint et alii interpretes, qui ex hebraea lingua in graecam sacra illa eloquia transtulerunt, sicut Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion; sicut etiam illa est interpretatio, cujus auctor non apparet et ob hoc sine nomine interpretis, Quinta editio nuncupatur: hanc tamen quae Septuaginta est, tanquam sola esset, sic recepit Ecclesia, eaque utuntur Graeci populi Christiani, quorum plerique utrum alia sit aliqua ignorant. Ex hac Septuaginta interpretatione etiam in latinam linguam interpretatum est quod Ecclesiae Latinae tenent," *De civitate Dei*, in Migne, vol. XLI, col. 603.

[11] "Quamvis non defuerit temporibus nostris presbyter Hieronymus, homo doctissimus, et omnium trium linguarum peritus, qui non ex graeco, sed ex hebraeo in latinum eloquium easdem Scripturas converterit. Sed ejus tam litteratum laborem quamvis Judaei fateantur esse veracem, Septuaginta vero interpretes in multis errasse contendant; tamen Ecclesiae Christi tot hominum auctoritati, ab Eleazaro tunc pontifice ad hoc tantum opus electorum, neminem judicant praeferendum," *ibid.* "Ego sane te mallem graecas potius canonicas nobis interpretari Scripturas, quae Septuaginta interpretum perhibentur. Perdurum erit enim, si tua interpretatio per multas ecclesias frequentius coeperit lectitari, quod a graecis ecclesiis latinae ecclesiae dissonabunt, maxime quia facile contradictor convincitur graeco prolato libro, id est linguae notissimae," *Epistola* LXXI, in Migne, vol. XXXIII, col. 242. "Quid tibi autem videatur, cur in multis aliter se habeat hebraeorum codicum auctoritas, aliter graecorum quae dicitur Septuaginta, vellem dignareris aperire. Neque enim parvum pondus habet illa quae sic meruit diffamari, et qua usos Apostolos, non solum res ipsa indicat, sed etiam te attestatum esse memini. Ac per hoc plurimum profueris, si eam graecam Scripturam, quam Septuaginta operati sunt, latinae veritati reddideris: quae in diversis codicibus ita varia est, ut tolerari vix possit; et ita suspecta, ne in graeco aliud inveniatur, ut inde aliquid proferri aut probari dubitetur," *ibid.*, col. 243. "Ideo autem desidero interpretationem tuam de Septuaginta, ut et tanta latinorum interpretum, qui quales-

had pointed out the necessity of harmonizing the Greek Septuagint with the Hebrew original, and so had devised a translation in which the asterisk and obelus pointed out respectively what was added or omitted in the Greek version,[12] and published in his *Hexapla*, as we have seen, in the fifth column, a corresponding emendation, based chiefly on Theodotion's version. St. Augustine admitted the value of such a work, but could not bring himself to

cumque hoc ausi sunt, quantum possumus imperitia careamus: et hi qui me invidere putant utilibus laboribus tuis, tandem aliquando, si fieri potest, intelligant, propterea me nolle tuam ex hebraeo interpretationem in ecclesiis legi, ne contra Septuaginta auctoritatem, tamquam novum aliquid proferentes, magno scandalo perturbemus plebes Christi, quarum aures et corda illam interpretationem audire consueverunt, quae etiam ab Apostolis approbata est," *Epistola* LXXXII, *ibid.*, col. 291. "Et latinis quibuslibet emendandis, graeci adhibeantur, in quibus Septuaginta interpretum, quod ad Vetus Testamentum attinet, excellit auctoritas; qui jam per omnes peritiores Ecclesias tanta praesentia sancti Spiritus interpretati esse dicuntur, ut os unum tot hominum fuerit.... Latini ergo, ut dicere coeperam, codices Veteris Testamenti, si necesse fuerit, graecorum auctoritate emendandi sunt, et eorum potissimum qui cum Septuaginta essent, ore uno interpretati esse perhibentur," *De Doctrina Christiana*, in Migne, vol. XXXIV, col. 46. "Septuaginta interpretes, quos legere consuevit Ecclesia," *Quaest. in Heptateuchum*, *ibid.*, col. 595. "Manifestum est autem interpretationem illam quae dicitur Septuaginta in nonnullis se aliter habere quam inveniunt in hebraeo, qui eam linguam noverunt, et qui interpretati sunt singuli eosdem Libros hebraeos. Hujus item distantiae causa si quaeratur, cur tanta auctoritas interpretationis Septuaginta multis in locis distet ab ea veritate quae in hebraeis codicibus invenitur; nihil occurrere probabilius existimo, quam illos Septuaginta eo spiritu interpretatos, quo et illa quae interpretabantur dicta fuerant: quod ex ipsa eorum mirabili quae praedicatur consensione firmatum est," *De consensu evangelistarum*, *ibid.*, col. 1139.

[12] *Epistola ad Africanum de historia Susannae*, in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. XI, col. 60 f.; *Comment. in Matthaeum*, *ibid.*, vol. XIII, col. 1293.

accept any other version than the one authorized by the Church. [13]

Jerome did not, in reality, differ from St. Augustine in his respect for the Septuagint, except that he admitted that the variations found in the Gospels were also justified, [14] as rendering the spirit, and not the letter, of the

[13] "Quia etsi non in eis unus apparuisset Spiritus, sine dubitatione divinus, sed inter se verba interpretationis suae Septuaginta docti more hominum contulissent, ut quod placuisset omnibus hoc maneret, nullus eis unus interpres debuit anteponi; cum vero tantum in eis signum divinitatis apparuit, profecto quisquis alius illarum Scripturarum ex hebraea in quamlibet aliam linguam interpres est verax, aut congruit illis Septuaginta interpretibus, aut si congruere non videtur, altitudo ibi prophetica esse credenda est. Spiritus enim qui in Prophetis erat, quando illa dixerunt, idem ipse erat etiam in Septuaginta viris, quando illa interpretati sunt: qui profecto auctoritate divina et aliud dicere potuit, tanquam propheta ille utrumque dixisset, quia utrumque idem Spiritus diceret; et hoc ipsum aliter, ut si non eadem verba, idem tamen sensus bene intelligentibus dilucesceret; et aliquid praetermittere, et aliquid addere, ut etiam hinc ostenderetur non humanam fuisse in illo opere servitutem, quam verbis debebat interpres, sed divinam potius potestatem, quae mentem replebat et regebat interpretis. Nonnulli autem codices Graecos interpretationis Septuaginta ex hebraeis codicibus emendandos putarunt: nec tamen ausi sunt detrahere, quod hebraei non habebant, et Septuaginta posuerunt; sed tantummodo addiderunt quae in hebraeis inventa, apud Septuaginta non erant; eaque signis quibusdam in stellarum modum factis, ad capita eorumdem versuum notaverunt, quae signa asteriscos vocant. Illa vero quae non habent hebraei, habent autem Septuaginta, similiter ad capita versuum jacentibus virgulis, sicut scribuntur unciae, signaverunt. Et multi codices has notas habentes usquequaque diffusi sunt et latini. Quae autem non praetermissa vel addita, sed aliter dicta sunt, sive alium sensum faciant etiam ipsum non abhorrentem, sive alio modo eumdem sensum explicare monstrentur, nisi utrisque codicibus inspectis nequeunt reperiri." *De civitate Dei*, in Migne, vol. XLI, col. 604.

[14] "Non damno, non reprehendo Septuaginta, sed confidenter cunctis illis apostolos praefero. Per istorum os mihi Christus sonat, quos ante prophetas inter spiritalia charismata positos lego: in quibus ultimum pene gradum interpretes tenent," *Praefatio in Pentateuchum*, *ibid.*, vol. XXVIII, col. 152.

Septuagint.[15] Hence he considered his Latin version of the Septuagint of equal value with his translation from the Hebrew, which he thought the Apostles considered in doubtful passages.[16] He recommended the Septuagint version to those who objected to his critical rendering from the Hebrew, which he justified on the basis of the similar work performed by Origen in the *Hexapla*.[17] Whatever

15 "Et hoc in omnibus Scripturis sanctis observandum est, apostolos et apostolicos viros in ponendis testimoniis de veteri Testamento, non verba considerare, sed sensum: nec eadem sermonum calcare vestigia, dummodo a sententiis non recedant," *Comment. in Amos*, *ibid.*, vol. XXV, col. 1056.

16 "Crebro, Eustochium, dixisse me novi, Apostolos et Evangelistas ubicumque de veteri Instrumento ponunt testimonia, si inter Hebraicum et Septuaginta nulla diversitas sit, vel suis, vel Septuaginta Interpretum verbis uti solitos. Sin autem aliter in Hebraico, aliter in veteri editione sensus est, Hebraicum magis, quam Septuaginta Interpretes sequi. Denique, ut nos multa ostendimus posuisse eos ex Hebraeo, quae in Septuaginta non habentur; sic aemuli nostri doceant assumpta aliqua de Septuaginta testimonia, quae non sunt in Hebraeorum libris: et finita contentio est. Hoc diximus, quia praesens capitulum cum in sensu unum sit, in verbis discrepat. A cujus explanatione quintus post decimum in Isaiam liber incipit," *Comment. in Isaiam*, *ibid.*, vol. XXIV, col. 513 f. "Qua felicitate tu, filia Eustochium, me compotem esse fecisti; nam cum anterioris libri praefatiunculam legeres, in qua asserui, Apostolos et Evangelistas ea tantum de Septuaginta Interpretibus, vel suis, vel eorum verbis ponere testimonia, quae cum Hebraico consonarent: si qua autem ab aliis addita sunt, omnino negligere," *ibid.*, col. 547.

17 "Studii ergo nostri erit, vel eorum, qui de libris Hebraicis varia suspicantur, errores refellere: vel ea quae in Latinis et Graecis codicibus scatere videntur, auctoritati suae reddere; etymologias quoque rerum, nominum atque regionum, quae in nostro sermone non resonant, vernaculae linguae explanare ratione. Et quo facilius emendatio cognoscatur, ipsa primum, ut apud nos sunt, testimonia proponemus, et ex collatione eorum quae sequuntur, quod in illis, aut minus, aut plus, aut aliter sit, indicabimus. Neque vero Septuaginta Interpretum, ut invidi latrant, errores arguimus: nec nostrum laborem, illorum reprehensionem putamus," *Praef. in Quaest. in Genesim*, in Migne, vol. XXIII, col. 936. "Hoc breviter admonens, quod nullius

may be said of Jerome's carelessness in translation and his weak knowledge of Hebrew, it must be admitted that he was remarkably consistent throughout his life in dis-

auctoritatem secutus sum; sed de Hebraeo transferens, magis me Septuaginta Interpretum consuetudini coaptavi: in his dumtaxat, quae non multum ab Hebraicis discrepabant. Interdum Aquilae quoque et Symmachi et Theodotionis recordatus sum, ut nec novitate nimia lectoris studium deterrerem, nec rursum contra conscientiam meam, fonte veritatis omisso, opinionum rivulos consectarer," *Praef. in Comment. in Ecclesiasten*, *ibid.*, col. 1011 f. "Periculosum opus certe, et obtrectatorum meorum latratibus patens, qui me asserunt in Septuaginta Interpretum suggillationem nova pro veteribus cudere: ita ingenium quasi vinum probantes; cum ego saepissime testatus sim, me pro virili portione in tabernaculo Dei offerre quae possim, nec opes alterius, aliorum paupertate foedari," *Praef. in Pentateuchum*, in Migne, vol. XXVIII, col. 147 f. "Hic prologus Scripturarum, quasi galeatum principium omnibus libris quos de Hebraeo vertimus in Latinum, convenire potest," *Praef. in Libros Samuel et Malachim*, *ibid.*, col. 555 f. "Certe si incredulus es, lege Graecos codices et Latinos et confer cum his opusculis: et ubicumque inter se videris discrepare, interroga quemlibet Hebraeorum, cum magis accommodare debeas fidem: et si nostra firmaverit, puto quod eum non aestimes conjectorem, ut in eodem loco mecum similiter divinarit," *ibid.*, col. 558. "Et nihilominus hoc a fastidiosis lectoribus precor, ut quomodo Graeci post Septuaginta Translatores, Aquilam et Symmachum et Theodotionem legunt, vel ob studium doctrinae suae, vel ut Septuaginta magis ex collatione eorum intelligant: sic et isti saltem unum post priores habere dignentur interpretem. Legant prius, et postea despiciant: ne videantur, non ex judicio, sed ex odii praesumptione ignorata damnare," *Praef. in Isaiam*, *ibid.*, col. 772 f. "Cogor per singulos Scripturae divinae libros adversariorum respondere maledictis: qui interpretationem meam, reprehensionem Septuaginta Interpretum criminantur: quasi non et apud Graecos Aquila, Symmachus, et Theodotio, vel verbum e verbo, vel sensum e sensu, vel ex utroque commixtum, et medie temperatum genus translationis expresserint: et omnia veteris Instrumenti volumina Origenes obelis asteriscisque distinxerit, quos vel additos, vel de Theodotione sumptos, translationi antiquae inseruit, probans defuisse quod additum est. Discant igitur obtrectatores mei recipere in toto, quod in partibus susceperunt, aut interpretationem meam cum asteriscis suis radere. Neque enim fieri potest, ut quos plura intermisisse perspexerint, non eosdem etiam in

tinguishing between his critical version from the Hebrew and his literal rendering from the Septuagint. There is not a single passage throughout all of his writings, except

quibusdam errasse fateantur, praecipue in Job: cui si ea quae sub asteriscis addita sunt, subtraxeris, pars maxima voluminis detruncabitur: et hoc dumtaxat apud Graecos. Caeterum apud Latinos, ante eam translationem, quam sub asteriscis et obelis nuper edidimus, septingenti ferme aut octingenti versus desunt; ut decurtatus et laceratus corrosusque liber, foeditatem sui publice legentibus praebeat. Haec autem translatio nullum de veteribus sequitur interpretem; sed ex ipso Hebraico, Arabicoque sermone, et interdum Syro, nunc verba, nunc sensus, nunc simul utrumque resonabit," *Praef. in Librum Job*, *ibid.*, col. 1079 ff. "Quod si apud Graecos, post Septuaginta editionem, jam Christi Evangelio coruscante, Judaeus Aquila, Symmachus, et Theodotio, judaizantes haeretici, sunt recepti, qui multa mysteria Salvatoris subdola interpretatione celarunt, et tamen in Ἑξαπλοῖς, habentur apud Ecclesias, et explanantur ab ecclesiasticis viris: quanto magis ego Christianus de parentibus Christianis natus, et vexillum crucis in mea fronte portans, cujus studium fuit omissa repetere, depravata corrigere, et sacramenta Ecclesiae puro ac fideli aperire sermone, vel a fastidiosis, vel a malignis lectoribus non debeo reprobari? Habeant qui volunt veteres libros, vel in membranis purpureis auro argentoque descriptos, vel uncialibus, ut vulgo aiunt litteris, onera magis exarata quam codices: dummodo mihi, meisque permittant pauperes habere schedulas, et non tam pulchros codices, quam emendatos. Utraque editio, et Septuaginta juxta Graecos, et mea juxta Hebraeos, in Latinum meo labore translata est. Eligat unusquisque quod vult: et studiosum me magis, quam malevolum probet," *ibid.*, col. 1082 ff. "Asserebat, non ita haberi in Hebraeo, ut tu de Septuaginta Interpretibus opponebas, studiosissime postulasti, ut post Aquilam et Symmachum et Theodotionem, novam editionem Latino sermone transferrem," *Praef. in Librum Psalmorum*, *ibid.*, col. 1124. "Si cui sane Septuaginta Interpretum magis editio placet, habet eam a nobis olim emendatam. Neque enim sic nova cudimus, ut vetera destruamus. Et tamen cum diligentissime legerit, sciat magis nostra intelligi, quae non in tertium vas transfusa coacuerint sed statim de praelo purissimae commendata testae, suum saporem servaverint," *Praef. in Libros Salomonis*, *ibid.*, col. 1243 f. "Tres libros Salomonis, id est, Proverbia, Ecclesiasten, Canticum Canticorum, veteri Septuaginta Interpretum auctoritati reddidi, vel antepositis lineis, superflua quaeque designans, vel stellis titulo praenotatis, ea quae minus habe-

the Letter to the Goths, which mars his conception of the relative value of the Old Testament in Hebrew, the Septuagint, and the Apostles.

Under the Septuagint he understood two things: first, the ideal, original version, which he tried to reconstruct, and secondly, the particular version in use in the various churches, which he denominated as *Vulgata* κοινή .[18] Under the *Vulgata* κοινή, however, he personally understood the one used in the churches about him, more especially Origen's version in the *Hexapla,* as corrected in the light of Theodotion's translation, [19] or a Latin version of the Greek

bantur, interserens: quo plenius, o Paula et Eustochium, cognoscatis quid in libris nostris minus sit, quid redundet. Nec non etiam illa, quae imperiti Translatores male in linguam nostram de Graeco sermone verterant, oblitterans et antiquans, curiosissima veritate correxi," *Praef. in Libros Salomonis, ibid.,* vol. XXIX, col. 403. "Ego enim non tam vetera abolere conatus sum, quae linguae meae hominibus emendata de graeco in latinum transtuli, quam ea testimonia quae a Judaeis praetermissa sunt vel corrupta, proferre in medium, ut scirent nostri quid hebraea veritas contineret. Si cui legere non placet, nemo compellit invitum. Bibat vinum vetus cum suavitate, et nostra musta contemnat, quae in explanatione priorum edita sunt, ut sicubi illa non intelliguntur, ex nostris manifestiora fiant. Quod autem genus interpretationis in Scripturis sanctis sequendum sit, liber quem scripsi de Optimo genere interpretandi, et omnes praefatiunculae divinorum voluminum, quas editioni nostrae praeposuimus, explicant; ad illasque prudentem lectorem remittendum puto," *Epistola* LXXV (Jerome to Augustine), ibid., vol. XXXIII, col. 262.

18 "Et non tam Apostolum de psalmo tertio decimo sumpsisse, quod in Hebraico non habetur, quam eos qui artem contexendarum inter se Scripturarum Apostoli nesciebant, quaesisse aptum locum, ubi assumptum ab eo ponerent testimonium, quod absque auctoritate in Scriptura positum non putabant Denique omnes Graeciae tractatores, qui nobis eruditionis suae in Psalmos Commentarios reliquerunt, hos versiculos veru annotant atque praetereunt, liquido confitentes in Hebraico non haberi, nec esse in Septuaginta Interpretibus, sed in editione Vulgata, quae Graece κοινή dicitur, et in toto orbe diversa est," *Comment. in Isaiam, ibid.,* vol. XXIV, col. 548.

19 "Illud quoque lectorem admoneo, Danielem non juxta LXX

Hexapla text, which he happened to have before him. On the other hand, he distinctly understood the *Fifth Edition* to be the anonymous one found at Actium.[20] In his *De viris illustribus* he repeated the favorable opinion about Lucian's translation, which was even then known as *Lucianeus,*[21] but he not only carefully separated Lucian's *exemplaria,* which were in vogue from Constantinople to Antioch, from the *Vulgata* of the Middle Provinces, which Eusebius and Pamphilius had published (*vulgaverunt*),[22]

interpretes, sed juxta Theodotionem Ecclesias legere, qui utique post adventum Christi incredulus fuit: licet eum quidam dicant ebionitam, qui altero genero Judaeus est. Sed et Origenes de Theodotionis opere in editione Vulgata asteriscos posuit, docens defuisse quae addita sunt, et rursus quosdam versus obelis praenotavit, superflua quaeque designans. Cumque omnes Christi Ecclesiam tam Graecorum quam Latinorum, Syrorumque et Aegyptiorum hanc sub asteriscis et obelis editionem legant, ignoscant invidi labori meo, qui volui habere nostros, quod Graeci in Aquilae et Theodotionis ac Symmachi editionibus lectitant. Et si illi in tantis divitiis doctrinarum non contemnunt studia hominum Judaeorum: cur Latina paupertas despiciat hominem Christianum? Cujus si opus displiceat, certe voluntas recipienda est," *Prolog. in Comment. in Danielem, ibid.*, vol. XXV, col. 493 f.

20 "Origenes, cum in caeteris libris omnes vicerit, in Cantico Canticorum ipse se vicit. Nam decem voluminibus explicitis, quae ad viginti usque versuum millia pene perveniunt, primum Septuaginta Interpretes, deinde Aquilam et Symmachum et Theodotionem, et ad extremum quintam editionem, quam in Actio littore invenisse se scribit, ita magnifice aperteque disserit, ut vel inde mihi videatur in eo completum esse," *Praef. in Homilia Origenis, ibid.*, vol. XXIII, col. 1117.

21 "Lucianus, vir disertissimus, Antiochenae Ecclesiae presbyter, tantum in Scripturarum studio laboravit, ut *usque nunc quaedam exemplaria Scripturarum Lucianea nuncupentur*," *De viris illustribus*, cap. LXXVII, *ibid.*, col. 685.

22 "Alexandria et Aegyptus in Septuaginta suis Hesychium laudat auctorem. Constantinopolis usque ad Antiochiam Luciani martyris exemplaria probat. Mediae inter has provinciae Palaestinos codices legunt, quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilius *vulgaverunt;* totusque orbis hac inter se trifaria varietate compugnat," *Prologus in Paralipomenon, ibid.*, col. 450 f.

but he declined to consider the versions of Lucian and Hesychius, since they were lacking all sanction.[23]

We can now proceed to show that Jerome's reference to the *Vulgata* and *Quinta* are absolutely uniform, without even a suspicion of wavering. We shall begin with his Commentary to Ezechiel.

"Quodque sequitur: *Et animalia currebant et revertebantur quasi species bezec,* de editione Theodotionis in Septuaginta additum est," I. 14, in Migne, vol. XXV, col. 25. The *Hexapla* and many versions of the *Septuagint* lack this passage, but others really have it, as indicated by Jerome (see Migne, *Patrologia Graeca,* vol. XVI. 3, col. 2407).

"*Et caede completa, remansi ego*: *ruique super faciem meam, et clamans aio*: *Heu, Domine Deus, ergo ne disperdas omnes reliquias Israel, effundens furorem tuum super Jerusalem?* Cunctis, qui signaculum non habebant, caede prostratis, corruit propheta in faciem suam, pro interfectorum multitudine, nullum praeter se arbitrans remansisse. Quod quia videbatur esse contrarium ei sententiae, qua jusserat Dominus signatarum frontium viros non esse caedendos, propterea in *Vulgata* editione subtractum est. Nos autem sequentes Hebraicam veritatem, posuimus, *remansi ego,*" IX. 8, in Migne, vol. XXV, col. 90. Although the words *remansi ego* are in Theodotion, in the Hebrew, and in some editions of the Septuagint, they are absent from the *Hexapla* (*Patr. Graec.*, vol. XVI. 3, col. 2458).

"*Repleta est terra sanguinibus* (IX. 9), sive, ut Sep-

23 "Praetermitto eos codices, quos a Luciano et Hesychio nuncupatos, paucorum hominum asserit perversa contentio: quibus utique nec in veteri Instrumento post Septuaginta Interpretes emendare quid licuit, nec in Novo profuit emendasse: cum multarum gentium linguis Scriptura ante translata, doceat falsa esse quae addita sunt," *Praefatio in Quatuor Evangelia, ibid.*, vol. XXIX, col. 527.

tuaginta transtulerunt, *populis: et civitas est repleta aversione;* aut, ut *Vulgata* habet editio, *iniquitate et immunditia,*" (Migne, vol. XXV., col. 91). The Septuagint and the *Hexapla* have *populis,* and the Septuagint has ἀδικίας καὶ ἀκαθαρσίας, that is, *iniquitate et immunditia.* The *Hexapla* is silent on the point, which means that it had it also. Here *Septuaginta* and *Vulgata* are used loosely, because both had the passages, hence the two terms are here interchangeable.

"*Pestilentiam misero in Jerusalem* (XIV. 19); pestilentiam, quae semper famem ac penuriam sequitur. Pro qua *Vulgata* editio *mortem* transtulit" (Migne, vol. XXV, col. 121). The verse is not given in the *Hexapla,* because it is identical with the Septuagint, where we have θάνατον.

"*Et factum est post omnes malitias tuas* ※ *vae, vae tibi* ÷ *dicit Adonai Dominus* (XVI. 23). Hoc quod secundo dicitur, *vae, vae tibi, Vulgata* editio non habet, sed de Theodotionis editione additum est" (Migne, vol. XXV, col. 142). All the editions in the *Hexapla,* except the Septuagint, have the words.

"*Et auferam ego de electis cedri de vertice* ※ *et dabo de capite ramorum ejus*" (XVII. 22). Hoc quod in Septuaginta legitur: *Et dabo de capite ramorum ejus,* de Theodotionis editione additum est" (Migne, vol. XXV, col. 166). It is not in the Septuagint column.

"Haberent autem in *Aphech* (XXVII. 16), quod de Theodotionis editione in Septuaginta additum est" (Migne, vol. XXV, col. 254 f.). In the Hexaplar Septuagint ※ ἐν Ἀφεχ.

"Quod autem de Theodotione in Septuaginta additum est, *in Machalim, et in Galima*" (XXVII. 24), (Migne, vol. XXV, col. 260). Not in the Hexaplar Septuagint, but in Theodotion.

"*Et radent super te calvitium et accingentur ciliciis: et plorabunt te in amaritudine animae ploratu amarissi-*

mo, et assument super te carmen lugubre, et plangent te (XXVII. 31), in Septuaginta non habetur, sed de Theodotionis Editione additum est" (Migne, vol. XXV, col. 262). Only in Theodotion.

"*Ut immoletur super eas holocaustum et pro peccato* (XL. 38), in Septuaginta non habetur: sed in plerisque codicibus de Theodotione additum est" (Migne, vol. XXV, col. 390). Only in Theodotion.

In the Preface to Jerome's translation of Ezechiel from the Hebrew it is stated that Ezechiel existed in a *Vulgate* edition, which did not differ much from the Hebrew text.[24] This explains why Jerome in his Commentary to Ezechiel refers to the reading in the Vulgate. As a rule, here *Septuagint* means any of the current Septuagint texts, while *Vulgata* refers to a published text by Eusebius, which apparently contained not only the Septuagint version, as in Origen's *Hexapla,* but also a considerable number of readings from Theodotion. On the whole, *Septuaginta* and *Vulgata* are identical, except for slight variations, hence we indiscriminately have "de editione Theodotionis in Septuaginta additum est, *Vulgata* editio non habet, sed de Theodotionis editione additum est." That the edition or editions which contained the variants from Theodotion were also the Septuagint or the Vulgate is clearly brought out by the words "in Septuaginta non habetur: sed in plerisque codicibus de Theodotione additum est." In all cases, "in Septuaginta non habetur," or a similar phrase, means that the variant is not contained in what Jerome considered to be the ideal text, while any of the current Septuagint codices are indiscriminately spoken of as *Septuaginta* or *Vulgata.*[25] Hence we have a number of quo-

24 "Sed et *Vulgata* ejus editio non multum distat ab Hebraico," Migne, vol. XXVIII, col. 938.

25 "Pro eo quod in Hebraico habet, *flevit et rogavit eum: in Bethel invenit eum, et ibi locutus est nobiscum,* legimus in editione *Vulgata: fleverunt et rogaverunt me, in domo ὧν invenerunt me, et ibi dictum*

tations in which *Vulgata* and *Septuaginta* interchange. [26]

est ad eos; ὦν interpretatur *dolor*," *Comment. in Osee*, Migne, vol. XXV, col. 925. Precisely the same version as in the *Vulgata* is given by Jerome in his lemma from the *Septuaginta*, except that here *deprecati sunt* is used for *rogaverunt* (*Ibid.*, col. 924). Here the two terms are obviously synonymous. "Rursum, ubi nos diximus, *Et erit funiculus maris requies pastorum*, et omnes interpretes huic translationi congruerunt, scribitur in LXX: *Et erit Creta pascua gregis, et ovile pecorum.* Igitur spiritualibus comparantes, et *Vulgatae* editionis coeptam semel tenentes semitam, quaerimus an alibi in Scripturis sanctis nomen Cretae legerimus," *Comment. in Sophoniam, ibid.*, col. 1361. Here plainly *Vulgata* and LXX are identical. "Et hanc esse *oculorum eorum*, quod Hebraice dicitur Enam, et scribitur per Ain, Jod, Nun, Mem: Sive *iniquitatem eorum;* quae si per Vau litteram scripta esset, recte legeretur Onam, ut LXX putaverunt: et hic error in editione *Vulgata* frequenter inolevit," *Comment. in Zachariam, ibid.*, col. 1449. As this reading is given by him in the lemma from the Septuagint, it is clear that *Septuaginta* and *Vulgata* are here the same. "*Ne laeteris Philisthaea omnis tu....* Philisthaeos autem, ut supra diximus, Palaestinos significat, quos alienigenas *Vulgata* scribit editio," *Comment. in Isaiam, ibid.*, vol. XXIV, col. 165.

[26] "Volumus et Hebraicum sequi, et *Vulgatam* editionem non penitus praeterire, et hac rerum necessitate compellimur diverso ordine, atque sermone diversas intelligentias quaerere. Igitur quod dicitur, *de nocte*, juxta *LXX*, hujus capituli, ut diximus, principium est: juxta Hebraicum, finis superioris," *Comment. in Isaiam*, in Migne, vol. XXIV, col. 296. "Multum in hoc loco distat Hebraicum ab editione *Vulgata.* Dicamus primum juxta Hebraicum: *Si mensurari potuerint coeli sursum*, et eorum altitudo cognosci, *vel investigari fundamenta terrae*, et extrema eorum ratione comprehendi, *et ego*, inquit, *abjiciam universum semen Israel, propter omnia quae fecerunt, dicit Dominus....* Huic sensui *Septuaginta* contrarium transtulerunt, dicentes: *Si exaltatum fuerit coelum sublimius, et humilitatum pavimentum terrae deorsum; et ego*, inquit, *non reprobabo semen Israel, dicit Dominus, propter omnia quae fecerunt*," *Comment. in Jeremiam, ibid.*, col. 885 f. "Veniamus et ad aliam similitudinem, juxta consuetudinem nostram, editionem *LXX* interpretum disserentes, ne si haereamus omnino Hebraico, illusisse lectoris diligentiae, et tacendo de editione *Vulgata*, frustra eam proposuisse videamur," *Comment. in Amos, ibid.*, vol. XXV, col. 1066. "*Vulgata* quippe editio ita se habet.... quantum distet ab euangelistae testimonio *Septuaginta* translatio, perspicuum est," *Epistula* LVII, in *CSEL.*, vol. LIV, p. 513. "Hoc exemplum in *uulgata*

But another series of quotations shows that when *Vulgata* is not used interchangeably with *Septuaginta*, the reference is to the "published" edition or to the Latin translation.

In his *Preface to the Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, Jerome says that Origen in his homilies to the people (ad *vulgum*) used the *common* edition, but that he followed the Hebrew text more closely in his learned discussions. [27] This is precisely in keeping with Jerome's own valuation of the Hebrew and Septuagint texts, [28] and here *communis* is identical with the Greek κοινή and the *vulgata* in the Commentary to Ezechiel. Elsewhere the quotations prove, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the reference is to a Latin translation, differing but little, if at all, from that of the *Septuagint*.

In commenting on Jonas II. 5, Jerome says, "Hoc

editione sic fertur.... quanta inter Matheum et *Septuaginta* uerborum ordinisque discordia, magis hoc admiraberis, si Hebraicum uideas," *ibid.*, p. 517.

27 "De Adamantio [*Al. Origene*] autem sileo, cujus nomen, si parva licet componere magnis, meo nomine invidiosius est, quod cum in homiliis suis, quas ad *vulgum* loquitur, *communem* editionem sequatur: in tomis, id est, in disputatione majori, Hebraica veritate superatus, et suorum circumdatus agminibus, interdum linguae peregrinae quaerit auxilia," Migne, vol. XXIII, col. 938.

28 "Monemusque lectorem, ut silvam Hebraicorum nominum, et distinctiones per membra divisas diligens scriptor conservet, ne et noster labor et illius studium pereat. Et ut in primis, quod saepe testatus sum, sciat me non in reprehensionem veterum nova cudere, sicut amici mei criminantur; sed pro virili parte offerre linguae meae hominibus (quos tamen nostra delectant), ut pro Graecorum ἑξαπλοῖς, quae et sumptu et labore maximo indigent, editionem nostram habeant. Et sicubi in antiquorum voluminum lectione dubitarint, haec illis conferentes, inveniant quod requirunt: maxime cum apud Latinos tot sint exemplaria, quot codices; et unusquisque pro arbitrio suo vel addiderit, vel subtraxerit quod ei visum est: et utique non possit verum esse quod dissonat," *Praef. in Librum Josue*, *ibid.*, vol. XXVIII, col. 462 f.

quod in Graeco dicitur ἄρα, et habet *vulgata* editio, *putas,* interpretari potest, *igitur,* ut sit quasi propositionis et assumptionis, confirmationisque ac syllogismi extrema conclusio, non ex ambigentis incerto, sed ex fiducia comprobantis: pro quo nos interpretati sumus: *Verumtamen rursum videbo templum sanctum tuum,* secundum illud quod ex persona ejus in alio psalmo dicitur: "*Domine, dilexi decorem domus tuae, et locum tabernaculi gloriae tuae,*" in Migne, vol. XXV, col. 1134. Here Jerome quotes the Latin version of the Septuagint, *putasne addam, ut videam,* for ἄρα προσθήσω τοῦ ἐπιβλέψαι, and emends it to *verumtamen rursum videbo.*

In commenting on Jeremiah XXXI. 21, 22, Jerome says, "Verbum Hebraicum *Sionim,* vel in *speculatores,* vel in *speculas* vertitur; ut Aquila, et Symmachus interpretati sunt. Unde miror, quid sibi voluerit Vulgata editio, ut pro *Sionim,* hoc est, pro *speculatoribus, Sion* poneret, turbaretque lectoris intelligentiam.... Unde Symmachus et Aquila juxta nostram editionem interpretati sunt. Quid sibi autem in loco hoc voluerit editio Vulgata, possem dicere, et sensum aliquem reperire, nisi de verbis Dei humano sensu argumentari esset sacrilegum; Theodotio autem, et ipse *Vulgatae* editioni consentiens, interpretatus est: "*Creavit Dominus salutem novam, in salute circuibit homo,* singulare ponens pro plurali," in Migne, vol. XXIV, col. 880 f. Here it is clear that Theodotion is in agreement with Origen's published *Septuagint,* except that he changes the plural περιελεύσονται to a singular. Unfortunately, Theodotion's version is lacking in the *Hexapla,* but the Septuagint text is precisely as Jerome gives it. Here, then, "et ipse *Vulgatae* editioni consentiens" means "although agreeing with the *Hexapla* version." Fortunately we have the *Hexapla* reference to Jeremiah XXXI. 21, where we read στῆσον σεαυτὴν Σιών. Jerome is rightly indignant at the blunder in the *Vulgata,* that

is, in the *Hexapla* text, where Σιών is wrongly preserved, though not found in any other edition.

In the Prologue to the Commentary to Daniel, Jerome distinctly speaks of the *Vulgata* as the one in which the passages from Theodotion are marked with asterisks and obeli, but he also makes it clear that in the case of Daniel, Theodotion's version was the *Vulgate,* that is, the one in actual use. [29]

It is not necessary to discuss all the passages in which *Quinta editio* is used in Jerome, because this plainly refers to the anonymous translator and not to any revision of the Septuagint. This is made clear from the juxtaposition of the *Septuagint* and the *Quinta,* where the two are totally different, exactly as in the *Hexapla.* [30]

29 "Illud quoque lectorem admoneo, Danielem non juxta LXX interpretes, sed juxta Theodotionem Ecclesias legere, qui utique post adventum Christi incredulus fuit: licet eum quidam dicant ebionitam, qui altero genere Judaeus est. Sed et Origenes de Theodotionis opere in editione Vulgata asteriscos posuit, docens defuisse quae addita sunt, et rursus quosdam versus obelis praenotavit, superflua quaeque designans," *ibid.*, vol. XXV, col. 493. "Exceptis LXX translatoribus, qui haec omnia nescio qua ratione praeterierunt, tres reliqui *collegam* interpretati sunt. Unde judicio magistrorum Ecclesiae, editio eorum in hoc volumine repudiata est; et Theodotionis vulgo legitur, quae et Hebraeo, et caeteris translatoribus congruit. Unde et Origenes in nono Stromatum volumine asserit se quae sequuntur ab hoc loco in propheta Daniele, non juxta Septuaginta interpretes, qui multum ab Hebraica veritate discordant, sed juxta Theodotionis editionem disserere," *Comment. in Danielem, ibid.*, col. 514.

30 "Ubi *Septuaginta* transtulerunt, *in Accarim*.... et *quinta* editio ἐν τοῖς ποιμέσιν, id est, *in pastoribus*," *Comment. in Amos*, I, *ibid.*, col. 991; "pro quibus *Septuaginta, montem Remman*.... *quinta* autem editio, *excelsum montem*, transtulerunt," *ibid.*, IV, *ibid.*, col. 1024; "ubi *Septuaginta* transtulerunt, *praeparare ut invoces Deum tuum*,.... Symmachus et *Quinta* Editio transtulerunt, *praeparare ut adverseris Deo tuo*," *ibid.*, col. 1033; "soli *Septuaginta* transtulerunt, *annuntians in homines Christum suum*.... juxta *quintam* editionem, τὴν ἀδολεσχίαν

Isidore of Seville quoted from St. Augustine his description of the various translations,[31] but he added the appellation *vulgaris* to the *Fifth Edition*, possibly through a confusion with the fifth column of the *Hexapla*, precisely as Rufinus had confused the two. It is not impossible that the forger was still more confused by this confusion into a series of impossible and contradictory statements.

The forger says that Origen and Eusebius and all the Greek writers of treatises have called the *Vulgate* κοινή. Neither Origen nor Eusebius used the word κοινή in any of their writings which have come down to us. The forger got this statement out of Jerome: "in editione *Vulgata*,

αὐτοῦ," *ibid.*; "hoc est enim quod LXX transtulerunt πυροφόρον ..... et (juxta) *quintam* editionem, *residuus*," *Comment. in Abdiam*, *ibid.*, col. 1112; "exceptis quinque editionibus, id est, Aquilae, Symmachi, *Septuaginta*, Theodotionis, et *quinta*," *Comment. in Abacuc*, II. 9, *ibid.*, col. 1296; "sed et hoc quod *Septuaginta* transtulerunt διάψαλμα .... *quinta* editio ipsum Hebraicum *sela*," *ibid.*, III. 3, col. 1311; "*LXX* aliter transtulerunt.... et *quinta* editio, *volucrem*," *ibid.*, III. 5, col. 1314; "illi dixerunt, *advenae Cretensium*.... Aquila et *quinta* editio interpretati sunt, ἔθνος ὀλέθριον," *Comment. in Sophoniam*, II. 5-7, *ibid.*, col. 1360.

31 "Hic etiam et ab Eleazaro pontifice petens Scripturas Veteris Testamenti, in Graecam vocem ex Hebraica lingua per septuaginta interpretes transferre curavit, quas in Alexandrina bibliotheca habuit. Siquidem singuli in singulis cellulis separati ita omnia per Spiritum sanctum interpretati sunt, ut nihil in alicuius eorum codice inventum esset quod in ceteris vel in verborum ordine discreparet. Fuerunt et alii interpretes, qui ex Hebraea lingua in Graecum sacra eloquia transtulerunt, sicut Aquila, Symmachus et Theodotion, sicut etiam et *vulgaris* illa interpretatio, cuius auctor non apparet et ob hoc sine nomine interpretis *Quinta Editio* nuncupatur. Praeterea sextam et septimam editionem Origines miro labore repperit, et cum ceteris editionibus conparavit. Presbyter quoque Hieronymus trium linguarum peritus ex Hebraeo in Latinum eloquium easdem Scripturas convertit, eloquenterque transfudit. Cuius interpretatio merito ceteris antefertur; nam [est] et verborum tenacior, et perspicuitate sententiae clarior [atque, utpote a Christiano, interpretatio verior]," VI. 4.

quae Graece κοινή dicitur, et in toto orbe diversa est."[32] Jerome correctly stated there, in his Commentary to Isaiah, that the *Vulgata*, κοινή, was the local common form of the Septuagint, which varied from place to place. This is with some justice, though very clumsily, inferred by the forger, who says, "κοινή autem ista, hoc est communis, editio ipsa est, quae et Septuaginta; sed hoc interest inter utramque, quod κοινή pro locis et temporibus et pro uoluntate scriptorum uetus corrupta editio." But the forger incorrectly called it "the old, corrupt edition," which it was not. Let us assume that, in spite of this blunder, the forger correctly stated that the *Vulgate* was an old edition of the Septuagint. How could he say, again quoting from Jerome,[33] that the *Vulgate* was now called *Lucianea?* We have seen that Jerome identified the *Vulgata* with an edition of the Septuagint, and that *Lucian's* translation was not a *Septuaginta* text. That did not trouble the forger, who was such a scatter-brain that he could not stick to his own definition and that he immediately proceeded to still further confuse the confusion. In V. 9 he says that neither Aquila, nor the Septuagint, nor Symmachus, nor Theodotion have κατεύθυνον ἐνώπιόν σου τὴν ὁδόν μου. As a matter of fact, however, both the Hexaplar Septuagint and Theodotion have it, hence, according to him, either one or the other is the κοινή, if it is anything at all. In XXII. 5 he says that *calix tuus* is found in the κοινή, and that the Septuagint and the rest have *calix meus.* In reality, the Septuagint in the *Hexapla* and Symmachus have ποτήριόν σου, that is, *calix tuus*, hence Symmachus or the Hexaplar Septuagint must here be the κοινή. In V. 5 he says "πονηρευόμενος, ut *uulgata* editio continet." This word is found only in the Hexaplar Septuagint. On the other hand, he says

[32] See p. 13, note 18.

[33] See p. 14, note 21.

that the *Vulgata* has no σφόδρα in VI. 11, whereas, in reality, it is only certain Septuagint texts which leave out the word, while the Hexaplar Septuagint has it.

Making all possible allowances for the blunders contained in these statements, it may be deduced that by *vulgata* κοινή he really meant the Hexaplar Septuagint. This assumption would be strengthened by LXVII. 25, where he correctly states that ἐθεώρησαν is found in the *Hexapla*. Unfortunately, the forger specifically informs the reader that Jerome has translated the Hexaplar Septuagint into Latin, and that the *uulgata*, κοινή, is a corrupt text of the Septuagint, and identical with the *Lucianea*. This is mad-house logic, from which there is no issue.

In the Letter Jerome says that he has translated faithfully the Hexaplar text of the Septuagint, which is preserved immaculate in the books of the learned, and that that which differs from the Hexaplar text must also differ from the Hebrew. He also is made to assert that he has recourse to the Hebrew, in order to find in the streams what proceeds from the fountain. Here again everything is topsy-turvy. The latter statement is based on a favorite metaphor in Jerome. In a Letter to Fabiola [34] Jerome comments on Numbers XXXIII. 9, "*et profecti de Mara uenerunt in Helim, ubi erant duodecim fontes aquarum et septuaginta palmae*," as follows: "nec dubium, quin de duodecim apostolis sermo sit, de quorum fontibus deriuatae aquae totius mundi siccitatem rigant." [35] It is, no doubt, from this Biblical passage that Jerome derived his metaphor about the source and the streams, which he uses so frequently, [36] generally in reference to the Hebrew

[34] *Epistula* LXXVIII, in *CSEL.*, vol. LV, p. 49 ff.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 58.

[36] "De Hebraeis litteris disputantem non decet Aristotelis argumenta conquirere nec ex flumine Tulliano eloquentiae ducendus est

source of the Septuagint, which is pure as compared with the turbid streams of the commentaries and translations. "We have poured a libation from the fountain of the Hebrews and have avoided the streams of opinions," [37] he says, in explaining why he refers to the Hebrew text. So, too, he defends himself against the charge of having corrected the Latin text of the Gospels, by explaining that he has corrected only the obvious divergencies and blunders with the aid of the Greek original, but that if the reader is displeased with the water from the purest fountain, he can go on drinking from the muddy streams. [38] In referring to the Old Testament, Jerome speaks of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion as commentators who should be avoided, [39] but whom he occasionally quotes so as not to startle the reader by the novelty of his own comments, and that he may avoid the streams of opinion and follow the source of truth. [40] In his Introduction to

riuulus," *Ep.* XXXVI, in *CSEL.*, vol. LIV, p. 280; "qui de Socratis fonte manentes diuisis cucurrere fluminibus," *Ep.* XLIX, *ibid.*, p. 369.

37 "Haec nos de intimo Hebraeorum fonte libauimus non opinionum riuulos persequentes neque errorum, quibus totus mundus expletus est, uarietate perterriti, sed cupientes et scire et docere, quae uera sunt," *Ep.* XXVIII, *ibid.*, p. 229.

38 "Latinorum codicum uitiositatem, quae ex diuersitate librorum omnium conprobatur, ad Graecam originem, unde et ipsi translata non denegant, uoluisse reuocare, quibus si displicet fontis unda purissimi, caenosos riuulos bibant," *Ep.* XXVII, *ibid.*, p. 224.

39 "Quod si apud Graecos, post Septuaginta editionem, jam Christi Euangelio coruscante, Judaeus Aquila, Symmachus, et Theodotio, judaizantes haeretici, sunt recepti, qui multa mysteria Salvatoris subdola interpretatione celarunt, et tamen in Ἑξαπλοῖς, habentur apud Ecclesias, et explanantur ab ecclesiasticis viris," *Praefatio in Librum Job*, in Migne, vol. XXVIII, col. 1082.

40 "Nullius auctoritatem secutus sum; sed de Hebraeo transferens, magis me Septuaginta Interpretum consuetudini coaptavi: in his dumtaxat, quae non multum ab Hebraicis discrepabant. Interdum Aquilae quoque et Symmachi, et Theodotionis recordatus sum, ut nec novitate

the translation of the Psalter from the Hebrew he complains that there are some who would rather drink from a turbulent stream than from the purest fountain.[41] It is, therefore, clear that Jerome cautioned the reader not to follow the streams of opinion, and that he could not have told, as he is made to tell in the Letter to the Goths, that we may seek in the streams what proceeds from the fountain. What Jerome was interested in finding out was what did *not* proceed from the fountain and should be expunged and annotated by an obelus or asterisk, and not what coincided with the Hebrew text and so needed no explanation.

Jerome could not have dreamt of saying that he translated faithfully the pure Hexaplar text of the Septuagint, or that the Hexaplar text agreed with the Hebrew, because that is fundamentally false and contrary to his universal practice. When St. Augustine begged Jerome to stick to the translation of the Old Testament from the Greek, and inquired of him why he had undertaken the translation of Job from the Hebrew, which could not take the place of the canonical book,[42] Jerome replied that in his translation from the Greek, he marked with obeli such passages as were to be found in the Septuagint but were absent from the Hebrew text, while asterisks indicated the passages added to the Septuagint by Origen from Theodotion. In the translation from the Hebrew he was not concerned about the words, but about the sense, hence no such marks

nimia lectoris studium deterrerem, nec rursum contra conscientiam meam, fonte veritatis omisso, opinionum rivulos consectarer," *Praefatio in Commentarium in Ecclesiasten*, in Migne, vol. XXIII, col. 1011 f.

41 "Haec ergo et vobis et studioso cuique fecisse me sciens, non ambigo multos fore, qui vel invidia, vel supercilio malint contemnere videri praeclara, quam discere, et *de turbulento magis rivulo, quam de purissimo fonte potare*," Migne, vol. XXIX, col. 120.

42 *Ep.* CIV, in *CSEL.*, vol. LV, p. 238 ff.

were necessary. Jerome upbraided St. Augustine for reading, not the pure Septuagint, as originally translated, but the corrupted Hexaplar text, especially since the additions in it were due to a blasphemous Jew, who had made the emendations after Christ's passion. Jerome asked St. Augustine not to read the passages between asterisks and to favor the ancients. At the same time, he was obliged to admit that all the current versions in the churches would have to be condemned, because hardly a correct copy of the Septuagint could be found. [43]

Jerome translated the Hexaplar text, not because he considered it better than the old Septuagint, but because the *Vulgata,* that is, the published Septuagint text, was in Palestine and the Middle Provinces based on Origen's expanded version. After translating Job from the Greek and profusely marking this work with asterisks and obeli, Jerome published also a translation from the Hebrew, where the marks were unnecessary, hence he said in the

[43] "Quod autem in aliis quaeris epistulis, cur prior mea in libris canonicis interpretatio asteriscos habeat et uirgulas praenotatas et postea aliam translationem absque his signis ediderim—pace tua dixerim—, uideris mihi non intellegere, quod quaesisti. Illa enim interpretatio septuaginta interpretum est et, ubicumque uirgulae, id est obeli, sunt, significatur, quod Septuaginta plus dixerint, quam habetur in Hebraeo, ubi autem asterisci, id est stellae praelucentes, ex Theodotionis editione ab Origene additum est. Et ibi Graeca transtulimus, hic de ipso Hebraico, quod intellegebamus, expressimus sensuum potius ueritatem quam uerborum interdum ordinem conseruantes. Et miror, quomodo septuaginta interpretum libros legas non puros, ut ab eis editi sunt, sed ab Origene emendatos siue corruptos per obelos et asteriscos et Christiani hominis interpretatiunculam non sequaris, praesertim cum ea, quae addita sunt, ex hominis Iudaei atque blasphemi post passionem Christi editione transtulerit. Uis amator esse uerus septuaginta interpretum? non legas ea, quae sub asteriscis sunt, immo rade de uoluminibus, ut ueterum te fautorem probes. Quod si feceris, omnes ecclesiarum bibliothecas condemnare cogeris. Uix enim unus aut alter inuenietur liber, qui ista non habeat," *Ep.* CXII, *ibid.*, p. 389.

Prologue to the latter work that he now offered *in toto* what heretofore he had given in parts, or else the reader could use the older text, by leaving out the parts between asterisks.[44] This is in keeping with his indifference to whether the Hebrew or the Septuagint text was accepted. In his Commentary to Isaiah he pointed out that the apostles, with the exception of Luke, followed the Hebrew source, while Luke, who was better versed in Greek, generally quoted from the Septuagint version.[45] In this very Commentary, Jerome indiscriminately quotes from his Hebrew version or from the Septuagint,[46] and generally discusses the meaning of a passage according to either reading.

This is still better brought out in his Commentary to Ezechiel. After quoting a very long passage from XXI. 8 on,[47] he says, "multum est si utramque ponam editionem, et librorum extenditur longitudo: maxime ubi aut nulla aut parva distantia est; ponam igitur nonnulla quae dis-

44 "Discant igitur obtrectatores mei recipere in toto, quod in partibus susceperunt, aut interpretationem meam cum asteriscis suis radere," Migne, vol. XXVIII, col. 1079 f.

45 "Quare apostolus Paulus cum Hebraeis disputans, non juxta Hebraicum, quod rectum esse cognoverat; sed juxta LXX sit locutus? Evangelistam Lucam tradunt veteres Ecclesiae tractatores medicinae artis fuisse scientissimum, et magis Graecas litteras scisse quam Hebraeas. Unde et sermo ejus tam in Evangelio, quam in Actibus Apostolorum, id est, in utroque volumine comptior est, et saecularem redolet eloquentiam, magisque testimoniis Graecis utitur quam Hebraeis. Matthaeus autem et Joannes, quorum alter Hebraeo, alter Graeco sermone Evangelia texuerunt, testimonia de Hebraico proferunt," Migne, vol. XXIV, col. 98.

46 "Quae omnia licet LXX Interpretes, Aquila, et Symmachus, ac Theodotio diversis modis interpretentur, nos ut potuimus vel de Hebraeo, vel de ipsorum translatione texuimus" (III, 18-21), *ibid.*, col. 70; "quia multum inter se Hebraicum distat et Vulgata Editio: ideo utrumque posuimus" (VIII, 11 seqq.), *ibid.*, col. 118.

47 Migne, vol. XXV, col. 203.

crepant." After this he goes on quoting elaborately from the Septuagint, every time giving full due to its interpretation. He quotes with the same objectivity from the other translators, although he is not often inclined to accept their versions. The lemmata being very long, he soon tires of giving both versions in full, and so compromises between the two.[48] Jerome's technique in this matter may be illustrated by reproducing his lemma from XXX. 20 seqq. "*Et factum est in undecimo anno, in primo, in septima mensis, factum est verbum Domini ad me, dicens: Fili hominis, brachium Pharaonis regis Aegypti confregi, et ecce non est obvolutum, ut restitueretur ei sanitas, et ligaretur pannis, et sarciretur linteolis* (sive *ut acciperet malagma*): *et accepto robore, posset tenere gladium. Propterea haec dicit Dominus Deus: Ecce ego ad Pharaonem regem Aegypti, et comminuam brachium ejus forte, sed confractum* (sive *brachia fortia, et disposita*): *et dejiciam gladium de manu ejus, et dispergam* (sive *disseminabo*) *Aegyptum in gentibus, et ventilabo eos in terras. Et confortabo brachia regis Baby-*

48 "Ut saepe commonui, parva in quibus Septuaginta editio discrepat ab Hebraico, ex latere copulavi, lectoris fastidio providens" (XXIII, 36 seqq.), *ibid.*, col. 222; "utramque editionem ex more conjunxi, et in quibus discrepant, ex latere copulavi, brevitati voluminum providens" (XXVI, 6 seqq.), *ibid.*, col. 241; "dum omnia simul non potest mente retinere, praecipue in quibus ab Hebraico in hoc loco LXX editio discrepat, hoc est, quae addiderint, quaeve subtraxerint; itaque nostra erimus interpretatione contenti, et sicubi dissonant, ex latere copulabimus, perfectam omnium Deo scientiam relinquentes" (XXVII, 1, 2), *ibid.*, col. 247; "utramque editionem ex more commiscui, ubi tamen plurimum discrepabant, ne duplex propositio augeret librorum magnitudinem" (XXXI, 1 seqq.), *ibid.*, col. 298; "editionem utramque miscemus, in his dumtaxat in quibus discrepant, alioquin ubi unus sensus est, Hebraicum sequimur" (XXXII, 1 seqq.), *ibid.*, col. 305; "saepe commonui editionem me utramque miscere, ut librorum vitem magnitudinem, in his dumtaxat, quae non multum a se in translatione discordant" (XXXIV), *ibid.*, col. 328.

lonis, daboque gladium meum in manu ejus, et confringam brachia Pharaonis, et gement gemitibus interfecti coram facie ejus (sive ut in LXX continetur: *Et inducet gladium super Aegyptum, et populabitur praedas ejus, et spoliabit spolia illius.* Sequitur): *Et confortabo brachia regis Babylonis, et brachia Pharaonis cadent: et scient quia ego Dominus, cum dedero gladium meum in manu regis Babylonis, et extenderit eum super terram Aegypti, et disperdam Aegyptum in nationes, et ventilabo eos in terras, et scient quia ego Dominus.*" [49] Jerome follows in the text his own translation from the Hebrew, with slight variations, which, however, may be due to a copyist, while of the Septuagint version he gives only the important variants. Jerome was never troubled about quoting the precise words of his own version, or even of the Septuagint, because he never tired of directing the attention to the fact that the apostles were not concerned about the wording of the Bible text, but about the sense. Thus, in commenting on Malachi III. 1, he shows that John quoted the text freely, while Mark united two passages, one from Malachi and one from Isaiah into one text. Similarly, Luke and John differed from the Hebrew and the Septuagint text, "from which it is obvious that the apostles and the evangelists and the Saviour himself did not follow the authority of the Septuagint, but transferred from the Hebrew what they read, without regard to syllables and dots, so long as the truth of the sentences was properly rendered." [50]

[49] *Ibid.*, col. 294.

[50] "*Ecce ego mitto angelum meum, et praeparabit viam ante faciem meam: et statim veniet ad templum suum dominator quem vos quaeritis, et angelus testamenti quem vos vultis.* LXX: *Ecce ego mittam angelum meum, et praeparabit viam ante faciem meam: et subito veniet ad templum suum Dominus quem vos quaeritis, et angelus justitiae quem vos vultis.* Hoc interpretatus est Dominus in Evan-

If we now turn to the Letter to the Goths, we find the absurd statement that what differs from the Hexapla version at the same time differs from the Hebrew text, an unwarranted assertion, which is contrary to Jerome's repeated and definite proof that the *Hexapla* is a corrupt Septuagint text, and that even the Septuagint is not final, either, for the apostles varied the text in accordance with the Hebrew original and in a free spirit of interpretation. Jerome had recourse to the Hexaplar text only where this was the current church text. In the great majority of his commentaries he quotes from the Septuagint, and not from the *Hexapla,* and invariably with the critical attitude of a scholar and never in the spirit of a dogmatic verbalist.

gelio de Joanne Baptista, dicens: *Iste est de quo scriptum est: Ecce ego mittam angelum meum ante faciem tuam, et praeparabit viam tuam coram me* (Matth. XI, 10); nec eisdem usus est verbis, quae LXX interpretes transtulerunt. Marcus quoque evengelista duo testimonia Malachiae, et Isaiae sub unius prophetae sermone contexens ita exorsus est: *Initium Evangelii Jesu Christi, sicut scriptum est in Isaia propheta: Ecce ego mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam, qui praeparabit viam tuam* (Marc. I, 2). Hoc licet verbis aliis in Malachia legimus. Quod autem sequitur: *Vox clamantis in deserto, parate viam Domini; rectas facite semitas ejus* (Isai. XL, 3), ab Isaia propheta dicitur: statimque utrumque testimonium de quo dicatur, exponens: *Fuit,* inquit, *Joannes in deserto, baptizans, et praedicans baptismum poenitentiae, in remissionem peccatorum* (Marc. I, 4). Sed et evangelistae vaticinium prophetarum super Joanne interpretati sunt cumque in sensu consentiant, in verbis discrepant. Pro eo enim quod LXX transtulerunt: *Rectas facite semitas Dei nostri,* Marcus Lucasque dixerunt: *Rectas facite semitas ejus.* Joannes autem: *Dirigite,* ait, *viam Domini.* Ex quo perspicuum est, apostolos, et evangelistas, et ipsum Dominum Salvatorem non LXX interpretum auctoritatem sequi, qua Hebraeae linguae habentes scientiam, non indigent; sed ex Hebraeo transferre quod legerint: non curantes de syllabis punctisque verborum; dummodo sententiarum veritas transferatur. Quod quidem et in pluribus locis eos fecisse docuimus, et maxime in eo libro qui a nobis inscriptus est, *de optimo genere interpretandi,* multis simul testimoniis approbatum est," *ibid.*, col. 1564.

"3. Prima de quinto psalmo quaestio fuit: *neque habitabit iuxta te malignus* (Ps. V. 6). Pro quo habetur in Graeco: οὔτε παροικήσει σοι πονηρὸς siue πονηρευόμενος, ut uulgata editio continet. Et miramini, cur παροικίαν, id est 'incolatum,' Latinus interpres non uerterit, sed pro hoc posuerit 'habitationem,' quae Graece dicitur κατοικία. Quod quidem in alio loco fecisse conuincitur: *heu mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus est* (Ps. CXIX. 5). Et in quarto decimo psalmo rursum pro incolatu habitationem posuit: *domine, quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo?* (Ps. XIV. 1) et sciendum, quod, si uoluerimus dicere: 'domine, quis incolet tabernaculum tuum?' uel illud de quinto: 'neque incolat iuxta te malignus,' perdes εὐφωνίαν et, dum interpretationis κακοζηλίαν sequimur, omnem decorem translationis amittimus; et hanc esse regulam boni interpretis, ut ἰδιώματα linguae alterius suae linguae exprimat proprietate. Quod et Tullium in Protagora Platonis et in Οἰκονομικῷ Xenofontis et in Demosthenis contra Aeschinen oratione fecisse conuincimus et Plautum, Terentium Caeciliumque, eruditissimos uiros, in Graecis comoediis transferendis. Nec ex eo quis Latinam linguam angustissimam putet, quod non possit uerbum transferre de uerbo, cum etiam Graeci pleraque nostra circuitu transferant et uerba Hebraica non interpretationis fide, sed linguae suae proprietatibus nitantur exprimere."

After the introduction comes a discussion of Psalm V. The Goths ask why παροικία is not translated by *incolere,* as is the case in Psalm CXIX. 5, and Psalm XIV. 1. To this Jerome says that "neque incolet juxta te malignus" would lose the εὐφωνία which is the soul of a translation.

After this follows a paraphrase from Jerome's Introduction to the Pentateuch [51] and from a Letter to Pammachius. [52]

Introduction to Pentateuch

Hic eruditio et verborum copia, ea quae intelligit, transfert. Nisi forte putandus est Tullius Oeconomicum Xenophontis, et Platonis Protagoram, et Demosthenis pro Ctesiphonte, afflatus rhetorico spiritu transtulisse.

Letter to Pammachius

Habeoque huius rei magistrum Tullium, qui Protagoram Platonis et Oeconomicum Xenofontis et Aeschini et Demosthenis duas contra se orationes pulcherrimas transtulit . . . . . Terentius Menandrum, Plautus et Caecilius ueteres comicos interpretati sunt: numquid haerent in uerbis ac non decorem magis et elegantiam in translatione conseruant? Quam uos ueritatem interpretationis, hanc eruditi κακοζηλίαν nuncupant.

Letter to Sunnia and Fretela

Et hanc esse regulam boni interpretis, ut ἰδιώματα linguae alterius suae linguae exprimat proprietate. Quod et Tullium in Protagora Platonis et in Οἰκονομικῷ Xenofontis et in Demosthenis contra Aeschinen oratione fecisse conuincimus.

Dum interpretationis κακοζηλίαν sequimur, omnem decorem translationis amittimus . . . . . Plautum, Terentium Caeciliumque, eruditissimos uiros, in Graecis comoediis transferendis.

51 Migne, vol. XXVIII, col. 151.

52 *Sancti Evsebii Hieronymi Epistulae*, in *CSEL.*, vol. LIV, p. 503 ff.

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There would not be anything strange in Jerome's repeating himself, especially since his laxness in translating had frequently been a subject of attack. But it is Jerome's habit specifically to quote his words, if he has expressed them before, even as he does in the Letter to Pammachius, where he quotes his words from the Preface to Eusebius' *Chronicle*, and the passage from Cicero, on which his reference to Aeschines and Demosthenes is based. But the repetition is so obviously a transposition of the older text that the suspicion of forgery cannot be withheld. Besides, the sentence "dum interpretationis κακοζηλίαν sequimur, omnem decorem translationis amittimus" is forced. In the Letter to Pammachius Jerome correctly states that "that which you call a truthful translation, the learned named a κακοζηλίαν, an unhappy imitation." The forger stupidly says, "by following the unhappy imitation of the translation, we lose all the beauty of the translation." The Goths, according to the last paragraph of the Letter to Sunnia and Fretela, were puzzled about the rendering of such Greek words as νεομηνία, θρόνος, ἔρημος, λαξευτήριον, and, according to the beginning of the Letter, had to be told about the various translations of the Bible; and yet they are given here a series of Greek words, εὐφωνία, κακοζηλία and ἰδιώματα without any explanation at all, and are referred to Latin and Greek authors, of whom they knew nothing at all. It can be seen how the forger's "κακοζηλία interpretationis" arose, which he uses again in the discussion of Psalm XXVIII, "in κακοζηλίαν interpretationis incurrimus." Jerome, in commenting on Joel I. 4, says, "quas nos *perturbationes* interpretati sumus, Graeci πάθη appellant, quae si κακοζήλως *in passiones* vertamus, verbum magis quam sensum verbi expresserimus,"[53] where κακοζήλως means "by an

[53] Migne, vol. XXV, col. 953. Similarly, "quae eruditi non verbum de verbo exprimentes κακοζήλως *passiones*, sed *parturbationes* interpre-

unhappy imitation." It could not have occurred to him to say, "κακοζηλία interpretationis," because that would be awkward. Now, when Jerome said, "quam vos veritatem interpretationis, hanc eruditi κακοζηλίαν nuncupant," he quite correctly stated that a literal translation may be an unhappy imitation. But the forger took κακοζηλίαν to be the opposite of "veritatem," and so proceeded to add "interpretationis," just as he made a similar awkward transposition in the metaphor about the spring and the stream.

Jerome is supposed to inform the Goths that "qui *incolet* tabernaculum tuum" would be bad Latin, yet he himself uses this very verb in his translation of Jeremiah from the Hebrew: "non habitabit ibi vir, et non *incolet* eam filius hominis" (XLIX. 33, L. 40). Οὔτε παροικήσει σοι πονηρευόμενος, it is said, is found in the *Vulgata*. It is in the *Hexapla*, hence the *Hexapla* is the κοινή, whereas we have just been told that the κοινή is not the *Hexapla*.

> "4. De eodem psalmo: *dirige in conspectu meo uiam tuam* (Ps. V. 9)—pro quo habetur in Graeco: κατεύθυνον ἐνώπιόν σου τὴν ὁδόν μου, hoc est: *dirige in conspectu tuo uiam meam*—, quod nec Septuaginta habent nec Aquila nec Symmachus nec Theodotio, sed sola κοινή editio. Denique et in Hebraeo ita scriptum repperi: *oser laphanoi darchach*, quod omnes uoce simili transtulerunt: *dirige in conspectu meo uiam tuam*, secundum illud, quod et in oratione dominica dicitur: *pater noster, qui es in caelis, sanctificetur nomen tuum*. Non quo nobis orantibus sanctificetur, quod per se sanctum est, sed quo

tantur," *Comment in Zachariam*, I. 19, *ibid.*, col. 1429; "qui non solet verborum κακοζηλίαν, sed intelligentiae ordinem sequi," *Comment. in Amos*, III. 11, *ibid.*, col. 1019; "κακοζήλως verbum e verbo exprimens," *Comment. in Ezechielem*, XXVIII. II, *ibid.*, col. 269.

petamus, ut, quod per naturam sui sanctum est, sanctificetur in nobis. Ergo et nunc propheta postulat, ut uia domini, quae per se recta est, etiam sibi recta fiat."

Jerome is made to say that only the κοινή has κατεύθυνον ἐνώπιόν σου τὴν ὁδόν μου. As this phrase is found in the *Hexapla*, the κοινή is here again identified with the *Hexapla*. How could Jerome insist that the reading should be *dirige in conspectu meo uiam tuam*, when he specifically said in his Dialogue against the Pelagians (III. 8), which was written after 412, that both readings occur, and, what is worse, that the verse indicates that God directs our paths.[54] It is true, in his *Commentarioli in Psalmos*[55] and *Tractatus de Psalmo V*[56] Jerome gives the reading *dirige in conspectu meo viam tuam* and explains this as meaning that God should bring before me His way, that is, the true Church, lest I fall; but even here one reading has it *in conspectu tuo viam meam*. Jerome did not claim that any one of these readings was

[54] "Salomon loquitur: *Esto confidens in Dominum in toto corde tuo, in tua autem sapientia ne exalteris: in omnibus viis tuis cognosce eum, ut rectas faciat vias tuas* (Prov. III. 5, 6). Intellige quid loquitur: Nec in sapientia nostra, nec in ullis virtutibus confidendum, sed in solo Domino a quo gressus hominis diriguntur. Denique praecipitur, ut ostendamus ei vias nostras, et notas esse faciamus, quae non labore proprio, ed illius adjutorio atque clementia rectae fiunt. Unde scriptum est: *Rectam fac in conspectu meo viam tuam*, sive ut alia exemplaria habent: *Rectam fac in conspectu tuo viam meam* (Ps. V. 9): ut quod tibi rectum est, etiam mihi rectum esse videatur, idem Salomon loquitur, *Devolve super Dominum opera tua, et firmabuntur cogitationes tuae* (Prov. XVI. 3). Tunc enim nostra cogitatio confirmatur, quando omne quod agimus, quasi super stabilem et solidissimam petram, Domini adjutorio devolvimus, eique cuncta reputamus," Migne, vol. XXIII, col. 578.

[55] G. Morin, *Anecdota Maredsolana*, Maredsoli 1895, vol. III, pars I, p. 13.

[56] *Ibid.*, pars II, p. 14.

more correct than another, and, while in the Roman Psalter and in the Translation from the Hebrew the latter reading is maintained, the manuscripts of the Gallican Psalter vary between both readings. In any case, the explanation now given in the Letter to the Goths that the way of the Lord, which is always straight, should now be made straight to him (or to itself?), is a bit of verbal absurdity, which does not agree with any of Jerome's interpretations of the passage.

> "5. De sexto psalmo: *erubescant et conturbentur uehementer omnes inimici mei* (Ps. VI. 11). Et dicitis in Graeco 'uehementer' non haberi. Scio, sed hoc uulgata. Ceterum et in Hebraeo habet *mod,* id est 'uehementer,' et omnes σφόδρα similiter transtulerunt."

Here the lemma is from the Gallican Psalter, where, however, *vehementer* is marked by an asterisk. In the Roman and Mozarabic Psalter, which the Goths are obviously made to quote, *vehementer* is omitted. Jerome is made to reject his own Roman Psalter[57] on the ground that only the *Vulgata* omitted σφόδρα. As σφόδρα is in the *Hexapla,* the *Hexapla* is here not the *Vulgata,* thus contradicting all previous contradictions.

> "6. De septimo psalmo: *iudica me, domine, secundum iustitiam meam* (Ps. VII. 9). Pro quo habetur in Graeco: κατὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην σου, id est 'iuxta iustitiam tuam.' Sed et in hoc male; in Hebraeo enim *sedechi* habet, quod interpretatur 'iustitia mea,' et non 'sedecach,' quod 'iustitiam tuam' sonat. Sed omnes interpretes 'iustitiam meam' voce simili transtulerunt. Nec cuiquam uideatur temerarium, quod iudicari secun-

[57] He also writes in his Commentary to Ezechiel (XVI. 52), confusing Psalms VI. 11 and XXXIX. 15, "*confundantur et revereantur* omnes inimici mei," in Migne, vol. XXV, col. 156.

dum iustitiam suam postulet, cum et sequens uersiculus hoc ipsum significet: *et secundum innocentiam meam super me* et sexti decimi psalmi hoc exordium sit: *exaudi, domine, iustitiam meam* (Ps. XVI. 1) et in septimo decimo quoque dicatur: *retribuet mihi dominus secundum iustitiam meam et secundum puritatem manuum mearum reddet mihi* (Ps. XVII. 25), in uicesimo quoque quinto psalmo scriptum sit: *proba me, domine, et tempta me; ure renes meos et cor meum* (Ps. XXV. 2), et in quarto dicatur: *cum inuocarem, exaudiuit me deus iustitiae meae* (Ps. IV. 2), et in octogesimo quinto: *custodi animam meam, quoniam sanctus sum* (Ps. LXXXV. 2), Jacob quoque loquatur in Genesi: *exaudiet me cras iustitia mea* (Gen. XXX. 33)."

The reading of the Goths does not occur in any known text. In all probability the forger mistook Psalm XXXIV. 24 for Psalm VII. 9, for there we really have in the Gallican Psalter *judica me secundum justitiam tuam, Domine, Deus meus.* The forger was not acquainted with Jerome's commentaries on the Psalms, for he could have discovered there that Jerome was himself very much puzzled by the lemmata and could explain them only on the ground that David was speaking for Christ.[58] Jerome could not have

[58] "*Cum invocarem te exaudisti me, Deus iustitiae meae.* Incongruum est hoc de David accipere, ut qui in superiori psalmo propter occisionem Uriae paene est interfectus a filio, nunc audeat dicere: 'Exaudivit me Deus iustitiae meae.' Totus itaque psalmus ad Xpistum, et per Xpistum ad iustos referendus est. Horum simile quid etiam Iacob locutus est dicens: 'Exaudiet me iustitia mea.' *In tribulatione dilatasti mihi: miserere mei, et exaudi orationem meam.* Licet mihi auxilium tuleris, et in tribulatione dilatasti mihi, tamen ego misericordia tua semper indigeo," *Anecdota Maredsolana*, vol. III, pars I, p. 10 f. "*Custodi animam meam, quia sanctus sum.* Quia non suo patitur sed nostro peccato, Patris poscit auxilium, haud dubium quin

failed to mention his own conception of the passages, if he wished to explain to the Goths these difficult points.

> "7. De octauo psalmo: *quoniam uidebo caelos tuos* (Ps. VIII. 4). Et dicitis, quod 'tuos' in Graeco non habeat. Uerum est, sed in Hebraeo legitur *samacha*, quod interpretatur 'caelos tuos' et de editione Theodotionis in septuaginta interpretibus additum est sub asterisco; cuius rei breuiter uobis sensum aperiam. Ubi quid minus habetur in Graeco ab Hebraica ueritate, Origenes de translatione Theodotionis addidit et signum posuit asterisci, id est stellam, quae, quod prius absconditum uidebatur, inluminet et in medium proferat; ubi autem, quod in Hebraeo non est. in Graecis codicibus inuenitur, obelon, id est iacentem, praeposuit, quam nos Latine 'ueru' possumus dicere, quo ostenditur iugulandum esse et confodiendum, quod in authenticis libris non inuenitur. Quae signa et in Graecorum Latinorumque poematibus inueniuntur."

This is extremely curious. The Goths constantly quote from Jerome's three translations of the Psalter and have to be instructed anew as to the value of asterisks and obeli, although Jerome took every occasion to point out the meaning of the two devices,[59] and, what is more, spe-

Xpistus. Quod si ad David psalmum referre volueris, hic sensus est: Custodi animam meam, quia in hac causa, qua patior angustiam, nihil dignum persecutione commisi; ut in septimo quoque psalmo legitur: 'Domine, si feci istud, si est iniquitas in manibus meis.' Non quo numquam iniquum aliquid fecerit: sed quo istud, pro quo adflictatur, se noverit non fecisse," *ibid.*, p. 65. "*Iudica me Domine secundum iustitiam meam, et secundum innocentiam meam super me.* Hoc David dicere non potest; hoc proprie Salvatori convenit, qui non peccavit," *ibid.*, pars II, p. 22.

59 "Ubicumque virgulae, id est *obeli* sunt, significatur quod Septuaginta plus dixerint, quam habetur in Hebraeo. Ubi autem *asterisci*,

cifically explained them in the very Prefaces to the Psalter [60] from which they are quoting the supposedly incorrect lemmata. It will be observed that from the mass of Jerome's statements about the *asterisk* and *obelus,* Isidore of Seville selected the one given in the Preface to the Pentateuch, but with additions from other places, for his definitions of *asteriscus* and *obelus.* [61] While the explana-

id est, stellulae praelucentes, ex Theodotionis editione ab Origene additum est," *Epistula Hieronymi ad Augustinum*, in Migne, vol. XXII, col. 928; "quod ut auderem, Origenis me studium provocavit, qui editioni antiquae translationem Theodotionis miscuit, *asterisco et obelo*, id est, stella et veru opus omne distinguens: dum aut illucescere facit quae minus ante fuerant, aut superflua quaeque jugulat, et confodit; maximeque quae evangelistarum et apostolorum auctoritas promulgavit," *Praefatio in Pentateuchum*, *ibid.*, vol. XXVIII, col. 148 f.; "*veru* anteposito, easque jugulante, subjecimus," *Praefatio in Danielem*, *ibid.*, col. 1293; "in principiis librorum eadem semper annectens, rogo, ut ubicumque praecedentes *virgulas* videritis, sciatis ea quae subjecta sunt in Hebraeis voluminibus non haberi. Porro ubi *stellae* imago fulserit ex Hebraeo in nostro sermone addita," *Praefatio in Librum Job*, *ibid.*, vol. XXIX, col. 62; "ubicumque ergo *asteriscos*, id est, stellas radiare in hoc volumine videritis, ibi sciatis de Hebraeo additum quod in Latinis codicibus non habetur. Ubi vero *obelus*, transversa scilicet virga, praeposita est, illic signatur quid Septuaginta interpretes addiderint, vel ob decoris gratiam, vel ob Spiritus sancti auctoritatem, licet in Hebraeis voluminibus non legatur," *Praefatio in Librum Paralipomenon*, *ibid.*, col. 404.

[60] "Unde consueta praefatione commoneo tam vos, quibus forte labor iste desudat, quam eos qui exemplaria istiusmodi habere voluerint, ut quae diligenter emendavi, cum cura et diligentia transcribantur. Notet sibi unusquisque vel jacentem lineam, vel signa radiantia: id est, vel *obelos vel asteriscos.* Et ubicumque viderit virgulam praecedentem, ab ea usque ad duo puncta quae impressimus, sciat in Septuaginta translatoribus plus haberi. Ubi autem stellae similitudinem perspexerit, de Hebraeis voluminibus additum noverit, aeque usque ad duo puncta, juxta Theodotionis dumtaxat editionem, qui simplicitate sermonis a Septuaginta interpretibus non discordat," Migne, vol. XXIX, col. 118 ff.

[61] "*Asteriscus* adponitur in his quae omissa sunt, ut inlucescant per eam notam, quae deesse videntur. *Obelus*, id est, virgula iacens,

tion of *asteriscus* in the Letter to Sunnia and Fretela may be taken from any passage in Jerome, that of *obelus* is directly taken from Jerome's Preface to the Pentateuch, whence also Isidore derived his verbs *jugulare* and *confodire*. The coincidence of the two verbs in the three passages is striking. But the writer of the Letter to Sunnia and Fretela had Isidore's passage in mind, when he cribbed from Jerome, because he added his quite useless statement to the Goths, "quae signa et in Graecorum Latinorumque poematibus inveniuntur," from Isidore's "praeterea quaedam scripturarum notae apud celeberrimos auctores fuerunt, quasque antiqui ad distinctionem scripturarum carminibus et historiis adposuerunt" (I. 21. 1), which precedes the discussion of the *asterisks* and *obeli* and the other classical signs.

Jerome, relying upon the Hebrew text, defends *tuos*, which he has in his translation from the Hebrew and which is marked with an asterisk in the Gallican Psalter. But in the Roman Psalter, in his Commentary on Isaiah LXV. 18,[62] written much later than the putative Letter, in his *Liber contra Joannem Hierosolymitanum*,[63] written about the same time as the Letter, and in the *Commentarioli*,[64] this *tuos* is omitted.

> "8. Sexto decimo: *oculi tui uideant aequitates* (Ps. XVI. 2). [Pro quo in Graeco] uos legisse dixistis: οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου, id est 'oculi mei;' sed rectius 'oculi tui,' quia et supra dixerat: *de uultu tuo iudicium meum prodeat* (Ps. XVI. 2), ut oculi dei in propheta operante non

adponitur in verbis vel sententiis superflue iteratis, sive in his locis, ubi lectio aliqua falsitate notata est, ut quasi sagitta iugulet supervacua atque falsa confodiat," I. 21. 2, 3.

62 Migne, vol. XXIV, col. 645.

63 Migne, vol. XXIII, col. 362.

64 *Anecdota Maredsolana*, vol. III, pars I, p. 21.

> praua, sed recta conspiciant. In ipso: *custodi me ut pupillam oculi* (Ps. XVI. 8). Dicitisque in Graeco legi: *custodi me, domine,* quod nec in Hebraeo nec in ullo habetur interprete. In eodem: *exurge, domine, praeueni eum et subplanta eum* (Ps. XVI. 13). Pro quo in Graeco sit: πρόφθασον αὐτούς, id est 'praeueni eos et subplanta eos;' sed melius, si legatur numero singulari, si quidem de inpio dictum est, de quo statim sequitur: *praeueni eum et subplanta eum; eripe animam meam ab inpio* (Ps. XVI. 13). Nullique dubium, quin diabolum significet."

Unfortunately this Psalm is not discussed in any of Jerome's writings, but the Roman Psalter has *oculi mei.* Jerome, who in this Letter is made a stickler for the Hebrew original and who bases the correctness of his translation on the precise wording in the Hebrew or in the Greek of the Septuagint, here wilfully changes the Septuagint πρόφθασον αὐτούς to *praeueni eum* on the ground that it refers to *inpius,* the devil. Yet Jerome has *praeveni eos* in the Roman Psalter, as in the Septuagint and Hexapla, and *praeveni faciem ejus* in his translation from the Hebrew, as in the Hebrew text and in Aquila and Symmachus.

> "9. Septimo decimo: *grando et carbones ignis* (Ps. XVII. 14). Et quaeritis, cur Graecus istum uersiculum secundum non habeat interpositis duobus uersibus. Sed sciendum, quia de Hebraico et Theodotionis editione in septuaginta interpretibus sub asterisco additum sit. In eodem: *qui perfecit pedes meos tamquam ceruorum* (Ps. XVII. 34). Pro quo scribitis in Graeco inueniri: ὡσεὶ ἐλάφου id est 'tamquam cerui,' singularem numerum pro plurali. Sed in Hebraeo pluralis numerus positus est *chaialoth* et

omnes interpretes pluralem numerum transtulerunt. In eodem: *et dedisti mihi protectionem salutis tuae* (Ps. XVII. 36). Pro quo in Graeco uos legisse dixistis: τῆς σωτηρίας μου id est 'salutis meae.' Sed in Hebraeo *iesacha* 'salutis tuae' significat, non 'meae;' quod et omnes interpretes transtulerunt. In ipso: *subplantasti insurgentes in me subtus me* (Ps. XVII. 40). Pro quo in Graeco plus inuenisse uos dicitis: *omnes insurgentes;* sed 'omnes' additum est. In eodem: *uiuit dominus et benedictus deus meus* (Ps. XVII. 47). Et dicitis in Graeco non haberi 'meus.' Quod non sub asterisco, sed ab ipsis Septuaginta de Hebraica ueritate translatum est; et cuncti interpretes in hac parte consentiunt. In eodem: *liberator meus de gentibus iracundis* (Ps. XVII. 48). Pro quo in Graeco inuenisse uos dicitis: *ab inimicis meis fortibus* siue *potentibus.* Et quia semel ueritati studemus, si quid uel transferentis festinatione uel scribentium uitio deprauatum est, simpliciter confiteri et emendare debemus. In Hebraeo nihil aliud habet: *liberator meus ab inimicis meis.* Septuaginta autem 'iracundis' addiderunt. Et pro 'gentibus' tam in Hebraeo quam in cunctis interpretibus 'inimici' positi sunt; et miror, quomodo pro 'inimicis' 'gentes' mutatae sint."

Here, too, we have no corresponding lemmata in Jerome, not even in the *Commentarioli,* while a *Tractatus de psalmo XVII* has not come down to us. The reading τῆς σωτηρίας μου is recorded by Migne from several Greek manuscripts and *salutis meae* in the *Codex Veronensis,*[65] that is, in the late text of Jerome according to the Roman

[65] Vol. XXIV, col. 145 f., notes d and l.

Psalter, even as it is in St. Augustine.[66] The omission of *meus* cannot be verified from any known text. The rest of the lemmata, except the last, are all from the Gallican Psalter, while the corrections suggested by the Goths are all from the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters. The lemma *liberator meus de gentibus iracundis* is especially interesting, because Jerome is made to condemn it as a scribal blunder. Yet it is in the *Antiqua,*[67] in Cassiodorus, and the Mozarabic Psalter recorded in Sabatier, and also in the Pseudo-Hieronymian *Breviarium.* To make matters worse, *de gentibus iracundis* is in the Roman Psalter, while the Gallican Psalter reads *de inimicis meis iracundis,* the latter word, however, marked by an obelus. The Goths' "*fortibus* siue *potentibus*" cannot be verified.

> "10. Octauo decimo: *exultauit ut gigans ad currendem uiam suam* (Ps. XVIII. 6). Et dicitis, quod in Graeco 'suam' non habeat; sed hoc nos sub ueru additum repperimus et in Hebraeo non esse manifestum est."

Jerome here apparently is made to correct his lemma by repeating *suam,* as having been marked with an obelus. The Gallican, Roman and Mozarabic Psalters omit *suam,* though some manuscripts of the Gallican Psalter mark it with an obelus. Jerome keeps *suam* in this verse in a quotation in his Commentary to Isaiah III. 1.[68] It is also preserved in *Carnut., Colb.* and *Germ.*[69]

> "11. Nono decimo: *tribuat tibi secundum cor tuum* (Ps. XIX. 5). Et dicitis in Graeco uos hoc uersiculo additum nomen domini repperisse, quod superfluum est, quia ex superioribus

66 This I quote from the *Enarrationes*, Migne, vols. XXXVI and XXXVII.

67 As given in Sabatier, from *Codex Colbertinus.*

68 Migne, vol. XXIV, col. 58.

69 This I quote from Sabatier.

ἀπὸ κοινοῦ subauditur, unde coepit et psalmus: *exaudiat te dominus in die tribulationis* (Ps. XIX. 2), ut et hic sub eodem sensu dicatur: *tribuat tibi secundum cor tuum*, id est ipse dominus, de quo supra dictum est. In eodem: *et exaudi nos in die, qua inuocauerimus te* (Ps. XIX. 10). Pro quo legisse uos dicitis: *in quocumque die;* sed superius cum Hebraica ueritate concordat, ubi scriptum est *biom*, id est 'in die.' "

Dominus is in the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters. *In quacumque die* is not only in the Mozarabic Psalter, but also in Jerome's *Commentarioli*, where, to make matters worse, Jerome says: "In hebraeo ita scriptum est: 'Domine salvum fac regem, qui exaudiet nos in quacumque die invocaverimus eum.' "

"12. Uicesimo primo: *tu autem, domine, ne elongaueris auxilium tuum a me* (Ps. XXI. 20). Pro quo dicitis inuenisse uos *meum;* quod et uerum est et ita corrigendum. Breue enim: si quid scriptorum errore mutatum est, stulta credimus contentione defendere. In eodem: *uniuersum semen Iacob, magnificate eum* (Ps. XXI. 24), pro quo in Graeco scriptum sit: δοξάσατε αὐτόν, id est 'glorificate eum.' Sed sciendum, quod, ubicumque in Graeco 'glorificate' scriptum est, Latinus interpres 'magnificate' transtulerit secundum illud, quod in Exodo dicitur: *cantemus domino; gloriose enim magnificatus est* (Ex. XI. 1), pro quo in Graeco scribitur: *glorificatus est;* sed in Latino sermone, si transferatur, fit indecora translatio et nos emendantes olim psalterium, ubicumque sensus idem est, ueterum interpretum consuetudinem mutare noluimus, ne nimia nouitate lectoris studium terreremus."

The discussion to XXI. 20 makes no sense whatsoever,

especially since the Gallican and Roman Psalters have the lemma with *tuam.* What really happened is this. The forger found in Jerome's translation from the Hebrew, *tu autem Domine, ne longe fias: fortitudo mea, in auxilium meum festina,* the latter part for *ad defensionem meam conspice* of the Gallican Psalter, and so jumped to the conclusion that *meum* of the translation from the Hebrew should be used for *tuum* of the Gallican Psalter.

The forger never took the trouble to verify his statements. How could Jerome have said that wherever the Greek had *glorificate* the Latin translator had *magnificate,* when both occur frequently throughout the Bible, and, what is worse, in Exodus XV, from which he quotes "gloriose enim *magnificatus* est," to avoid the repetition "gloriose *glorificatus* est," he himself a few lines further down writes "iste Deus meus, et *glorificabo* eum?" Besides, in the very Psalter in which he claims to follow the older versions, he uses *glorificare* in XIV. 4, LXXXV. 9, 12, LXXXVIII. 8, XC. 15, as in the old version, where the Greek has δοξάζειν.

One sees, however, why the forger dwelt upon the fact that Jerome did not change the old version wherever the sense was the same. He wanted to drag in by the hair Jerome's phrase in the Prologue to Ecclesiastes,[70] "nec novitate nimia lectoris studium deterrerem" in the new combination, "ueterum interpretum consuetudinem mutare noluimus, ne nimia nouitate lectoris studium terreremus." To make matters worse, Jerome's Gallican Psalter has in Psalm XXI. 4, the very passage under discussion, *glorificate,* where his Roman Psalter has *magnificate.* Now the Goths are constantly complaining of the changes in Jerome's Gallican Psalter, and here they are complaining against the older translation, *which Jerome is not upholding,* and Jerome all of a sudden does not know his own

[70] See p. 25.

second version, although he almost exclusively quotes from it and occasionally even from his third translation, from the Hebrew. Apparently the forger quoted here the lemma from the *Breviarium in Psalmos,* which has many interpolations, and in which *magnificate* is actually used. [71] In the eighth and ninth centuries there was a tendency to return to *magnificate* for *glorificate* of Jerome's Gallican Psalter. This is evidenced by the curious *maglorificate* of *Casinensis.* [72].

> "13. Uicesimo secundo: *calix meus inebrians quam praeclarus est* (Ps. XXII. 5). Pro quo in Graeco legisse uos dicitis: *calix tuus;* sed hoc in κοινῇ errore obtinuit. Ceterum et Septuaginta et Hebraicum et omnes interpretes 'calix meus' habent, quod Hebraice dicitur *chosi;* alioquin 'calix tuus' esset 'chosach.' "

Jerome, it is true, in the Psalters writes *calix meus,* but everywhere else he has *calix tuus,* [73] as in the African Psalter, or, in referring to the passage loosely, *calix Domini.* [74] Only once has he *calix meus.* [75] The Mozarabic Psalter has *poculum tuum.* As τὸ ποτήριόν σου is in the Hexapla, the Sixth Edition and Symmachus, one of these, if not all three, must be the κοινή.

> "14. Uicesimo quarto: *confundantur omnes inique agentes* (Ps. XXIV. 4). Et dicitis, quod 'omnes' in Graeco non habeat, et bene; nam nec in Hebraeo habet, sed in Septuaginta sub ueru

71 Migne, vol. XXVI, col. 883.

72 A. M. Amelli, *Liber Psalmorum iuxta antiquissimam latinam versionem nunc primum ex Casinensi Cod. 557 in lucem profertur,* Romae, Ratisbonae, Neo-Eboraci 1912, in *Collectanea biblica latina cura et studio monachorum S. Benedicti,* vol. I.

73 *CSEL.,* vol. LIX, p. 388, Migne, vol. XXV, cols. 648, 649, 958, 1394.

74 *Ep.* XLIV, in *CSEL.,* vol. LIV, p. 322, Migne, vol. XXIII, col 1122.

75 *Ep.* CXX, in *CSEL.,* vol. LV, p. 479.

additum est. In eodem: *innocentes et recti adhaeserunt mihi, quia sustinui te* (Ps. XXIV. 21). Et dicitis in Graeco uos repperisse *domine,* quod superfluum est."

Omnes is omitted in the Roman Psalter. The Mozarabic Psalter has *confundantur iniqui facientes vana. Domine* is in the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters.

"15. Uicesimo sexto: *et nunc ecce exaltauit caput meum* (Ps. XXVI. 6). Sed 'ecce' superfluum est. In eodem: *exquisiuit facies mea* (Ps. XXVI. 8), pro quo in Graeco sit positum: *quaesiuit te facies mea.* Sed melius superius."

Ecce is in *Coisl., Med., Moz.*[76] *Te* is in the Gallican Psalter and in *Palat.*[77] It is absent from the *Utrecht Psalter.*[78]

"16. Uicesimo septimo: *exaudi uocem deprecationis meae* (Ps. XXVII. 2), pro quo uos inuenisse dixistis: *exaudi, domine.* Sed et hoc additum est."

Domine is in Cassiodorus, St. Augustine, etc.

"17. Uicesimo octauo: *et in templo eius omnis dicet gloriam* (Ps. XXVIII. 9), pro quo in Graeco sit: πᾶς τις. Quod si transferre uoluerimus ad uerbum 'omnis quis,' in κακοζηλίαν interpretationis incurrimus et fit absurda translatio. In eodem: *dominus diluuium inhabitare facit* (Ps. XXVIII. 10), pro quo legisse uos dicitis: *dominus diluuium inhabitat;* quorum prius ad gratiam pertinet credentibus, secundum ad eius, in quo credunt, habitaculum. Sed quia

[76] *Mediolanensis* and *Germanensis* I quote from Migne, vol. XXXVI, col. 21 ff.; *Moz.* is the Mozarabic Psalter as quoted in Sabatier.

[77] Migne, vol. XXIX, col. 161.

[78] *Latin Psalter in the University Library of Utrecht,* photographed and produced in facsimile, London [1875].

iasaph uerbum ambiguum est et potest utrumque sonare—nam et 'sessio' et 'habitatio' dicitur et in ipso psalmo de gratia baptismatis dicebatur: *uox domini super aquas; dominus super aquas multas* (Ps. XXVIII. 3) et: *uox domini praeparantis ceruos et reuelabit condensa et in templo eius omnis dicet gloriam* (Ps. XXVIII. 9)—, de ipsis sentire uolumus, qui glorificant dominum, et interpretati sumus: *dominus diluuium inhabitare facit.*"

But *Veronensis* and *Liber Promissionum* [79] have *omnisquisque,* which exactly corresponds to πᾶς τις. Moreover, the lemma *omnis dicet gloriam* is in the *Utrecht Psalter,* whereas the Gallican Psalter has *omnes dicent gloriam.* Jerome has *dominus diluuium inhabitat* in the Roman Psalter, and the Mozarabic Psalter has *inhabitabit,* and in the *Commentarioli* Jerome explains *diluvium inhabitat* by "aridam terram Deus non possidet."

"18. Tricesimo: *quoniam tu es protector meus* (Ps. XXX. 5). Rursum et in hoc loco additum nomen domini est; et ne eadem semper inculcem, obseruare debetis nomen domini et dei saepissime additum et id uos debere sequi, quod de Hebraico et de septuaginta interpretibus emendauimus. In eodem: *ego autem dixi in excessu mentis meae* (Ps. XXX. 23). Pro quo in Latinis codicibus legabatur: *in pauore meo,* et nos iuxta Graecum transtulimus: ἐν τῇ ἐκστάσει μου, id est 'in excessu mentis meae;' aliter enim ἔκστασιν Latinus sermo exprimere non potest nisi 'mentis excessum.' Aliter me in Hebraico legisse noueram: *in stupore et in admiratione mea.*"

[79] P. Capelle, *Le Texte du Psautier Latin en Afrique,* in *Collectanea biblica latina cura et studio monachorum S. Benedicti,* Rome 1913, vol. IV, p. 92.

Domine and *in pauore meo* are in the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters. Here the forger shows his cards. He makes Jerome tell the Goths that they must follow what he has corrected from the Hebrew and the Septuagint, and by this, as the lemmata clearly show, the forger means the Gallican Psalter with such corrections as were current in the eighth and ninth centuries, in the *Utrecht Psalter* and elsewhere.

> "19. Tricesimo primo: *nec est in spiritu eius dolus* (Ps. XXXI 2). Pro quo in Graeco legisse uos dicitis: ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ, id est *in ore eius dolus,* quod solus Symmachus posuit. Alioquin et septuaginta interpretes et Theodotion et Quinta et Sexta et Aquila et ipsum Hebraicum *in spiritu eius* habet, quod Hebraice dicitur 'brucho.' Sin autem esset *in ore eius,* scriberetur 'baffio.' In eodem: *conuersus sum in aerumna mea* (Ps. XXXI. 4). In Graeco 'mea' non esse suggeritis, quod ex Hebraico et de translatione Theodotionis sub asterisco additum est, et in Hebraeo legitur 'lasaddi.' 'lasaddi' * * *."

In ore ejus dolus is in the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters. Apparently Jerome is made to defend *in aerumna mea* on the ground of the Hebrew *lasaddi. Mea* is omitted in the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters. Jerome himself writes *versatus sum in miseria,* [80] even in a Letter which he is supposed to have written at nearly the same time as the Letter to the Goths. [81] Only once, in his Commentary

[80] *Apologia adversus libros Rufini,* II. 7, in Migne, vol. XXIII, col. 429, *Dialogus adversus Pelagianos,* II. 24, *ibid.,* col. 563, (in infirmitate) *Comment. in Isaiam,* XXIX. 9 seqq., *ibid.,* vol. XXIV, col. 331, (in miseria) LXVI. 24, *ibid.,* col. 676, *Comment. in Abacuc,* III, vol. XXV, col. 1324, *Comment. in Hieremiam,* IV. 1, in *CSEL.,* vol. LIX, p. 222.

[81] *Ep.* CVIII, in *CSEL.,* vol. LV, p. 307.

to Ezechiel, [82] did he write *in aerumna mea,* in accordance with his Gallican version.

> "20. Tricesimo quarto: *omnia ossa mea dicent*: *domine* (Ps. XXXIV. 10). Pro quo in Graeco bis 'domine' inuenisse uos dicitis. Sed sciendum, quod multa sint exemplaria apud Hebraeos, quae ne semel quidem 'dominum' habeant."

Several Septuagint texts have κύριε κύριε.

> "21. Tricesimo sexto: *et uiam eius uolet* (XXXVI. 23). In Graeco uolet nimis uos legisse dixistis. Quod additum est nec apud quemquam habetur interpretum."

The Mozarabic Psalter has *cupiet nimis;* one manuscript of the Roman Psalter has *volet nimis,* and *Mediol.* has *cupiet valde;* several Septuagint texts have σφόδρα. To make matters worse, Jerome quotes in his Commentary to Jeremiah, II. 96, [83] *et uiam eius uolet nimis.*

> "22. Tricesimo octauo: *uerumtamen uane conturbatur omnis homo* (XXXVIII. 12). Et dicitis uos in Graeco non inuenisse 'conturbatur.' Sed et hoc sub ueru in Septuaginta additum est et hinc apud uos et apud plerosque error exoritur, quod scriptorum neglegentia uirgulis et asteriscis subtractis distinctio uniuersa confunditur."

Conturbatur is omitted in the Gallican, Roman and Mozarabic Psalters. Indeed, the whole lemma, *uerumtamen uane conturbatur omnis homo* is found nowhere at all in Jerome, but is the reading in the *Antiqua,* with the addition of *vivens,* and is adopted in the Modern Vulgate, hence it must have entered the Psalter at a later time than Jerome's.

82 Migne, vol. XXV, col. 40.
83 *CSEL.*, vol. LIX, p. 139.

"23. Tricesimo nono: *et legem tuam in medio cordis mei* (Ps. XXXIX. 9). Pro quo in Graeco repperisse uos dicitis: *in medio uentris mei,* quod et in Hebraeo scriptum est 'batthoch meai.' Sed propter euphoniam apud Latinos 'in corde' translatum est; et tamen non debemus subtrahere, quod uerum est. In eodem: *domine, in adiutorium meum respice* (Ps. XXXIX. 14). Pro quo in Graeco repperisse uos dicitis: σπεῦσον, id est 'festina.' Sed apud Septuaginta πρόσχες, id est 'respice,' scriptum est."

Mediol. has *in medio ventris mei.* The lemma of verse 14 is in none of Jerome's Psalters. The Gallican Psalter has *ad adjuvandum me. Casin.* has *in adiutorium meum propera,* where *propera* is the translation of σπεῦσον, which is found in some Septuagint texts. Here the forger blundered egregiously. If he had looked at Jerome's translation from the Hebrew, he would have found there the lemma *ad adjuvandum me festina,* which here he is made to condemn, although he is supposed to be a stickler for the Hebrew text.

"24. Quadragesimo: *et si ingrediebatur, ut uideret* (Ps. XL. 7). Et dicitis, quod 'si' in Graeco non sit positum, cum manifestissime et in Hebraeo et in cunctis interpretibus scriptum sit et Septuaginta transtulerint: καὶ εἰ εἰσεπορεύετο τοῦ ἰδεῖν.

Si is omitted in the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters, even as it is wanting in the *Antiqua* and a large number of texts.

"25. Quadragesimo primo: *salutare uultus mei, deus meus* (XLI. 6). Pro quo inuenisse uos dicitis: *et deus meus.* Sed sciendum hoc in isto psalmo bis inueniri et in primo positum esse: *salutare uultus mei, deus meus,* in secundo

autem, id est in fine ipsius psalmi: *salutare uultus mei et deus meus* (XLI. 12), ita dumtaxat, ut 'et' coniunctio de Hebraeo et de Theodotione sub asterisco addita sit. In eodem: *exprobrauerunt mihi, qui tribulant me* (XLI. 11). Pro quo uos inuenisse dixistis: οἱ ἐχθροί μου, id est 'inimici mei,' cum et apud Septuaginta scriptum sit: οἱ θλίβοντές με et apud Hebraeos 'sororai,' id est 'hostes mei.' In eodem: *Spera in deum, quoniam adhuc confitebor illi* (Ps. XLI. 12). Et dicitis 'adhuc' in Graeco non inueniri. Quod sub asterisco additum est; ita enim et in Hebraeo scriptum repperimus 'chi od,' quod significatur ὅτι ἔτι Latineque dicitur 'quoniam adhuc.' Hoc ipsum etiam in quadragesimo secundo intellegendum."

In spite of the correct discussion, *et* is in the Gallican, Roman and Mozarabic Psalters, and in many Greek codices. It is absent from the *Utrecht Psalter, Casin.* and Cassiodorus. *Inimici mei* is in the Gallican Psalter, although absent from the Roman. It is hard to tell whether Jerome is made here to agree with the Goths or not. In any case, the texts have taken a somersault. *Adhuc* is marked with an asterisk in the Gallican Psalter, but the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters do not have it, nor does Jerome employ it. [84]

"26. Quadragesimo tertio: *et non egredieris in uirtutibus nostris* (XLIII. 10). Pro quo in Graeco repperisse uos dicitis: *et non egredieris, deus.* Sed superfluum est. In ipso: *posuisti nos in similitudinem gentibus* (Ps. XLIII 15), pro quo in Graeco scriptum sit ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. Sed, si dictum fuisset in Latino 'in similitudinem

84 *Ep.* XXII, in *CSEL.*, vol. LIV, p. 152, *Ep.* CVIII, *ibid.*, vol. LV, p. 332.

in gentibus,' κακόφωνον esset, et propterea absque damno sensus interpretationis elegantia conseruata est. Alioquin in Hebraico ita scriptum repperi: *posuisti nos prouerbium in gentibus.* In eodem: *exurge, adiuua nos* (Ps. XLIII. 26). Pro quo more solito in Graeco nomen domini additum est."

Deus is in the Gallican, Roman and Mozarabic Psalters. It is absent from the *Utrecht Psalter* and the *Antiqua* and the *Commentarioli.* The cacophonous *in similitudinem in gentibus* is in St. Augustine. *Domine,* which Jerome is here made to declare superfluous, is in the Gallican, Roman and Mozarabic Psalters, but absent from the translation from the Hebrew.

"27. Quadragesimo quarto: *sagittae tuae acutae* (Ps. XLIV. 6). Pro quo in Graeco legisse uos dicitis: *acutae, potentissime.* Sed hoc male et de superiore uersiculo additum est, in quo legitur: *accingere gladio tuo super femur tuum, potentissime.*"

Potentissime is in the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters, though, as stated in the Letter, tacked on in the Gallican Psalter to the verse above.

"28. Quadragesimo septimo: *quoniam ecce reges congregati sunt* (Ps. XLVII. 5). Pro quo in Graeco legisse uos dicitis: *quoniam ecce reges eius congregati sunt.* Quod superfluum esse ipse lectionis textus ostendit; et in ueteribus codicibus Latinorum scriptum erat *reges terrae,* quod nos tulimus, quia nec in Hebraeo nec in Septuaginta repperitur. In Ipso: *sicut audiuimus, sic uidimus* (Ps. XLVII. 9). Pro quo in Graeco repperisse uos dicitis: *sic et uidimus,* quod superfluum est; legitur enim in Hebraeo 'chen rainu,' quod interpretatur οὕτως εἴδομεν, hoc est

sic uidimus. In eodem: *suscepimus, deus, misericordiam tuam in medio templi tui* (Ps. XLII. 10). Pro eo, quod nos de Hebraico et de septuaginta interpretibus uertimus *templi tui,* in Graeco legisse uos dicitis *populi tui,* quod superfluum est. In Hebraico scriptum est 'echalach,' id est τοῦ ναοῦ σου, hoc est 'templi tui,' et non 'ammach,' quod 'populum tuum' significat."

The statement that *terrae* was omitted by Jerome because it is not in the Septuagint is incorrect. It is also in the *Hexapla.* Jerome's omission of *terrae* in all his translations is apparently due to an early correction from the Hebrew. The discussion about verse 9 is useless, because, although the Gallican Psalter has *sic,* the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters have *ita et,* and Jerome in his other works never uses *sic.* [85] Besides, in his translation from the Hebrew he writes *ita.* The statement that *populi tui* is superfluous is silly. It is simply a mistake which the Goths owed to a reading of some bad Septuagint text, where λαοῦ was written for ναοῦ. Yet it is also in St. Augustine, *Mediol.* and *German.*

"29. Quadragesimo octauo: *homo, cum in honore esset* (Ps. XLVIII. 21). Pro quo in Graeco inuenisse uos dicitis: *et homo, in honore cum esset.* Sed sciendum, quod iste uersiculus bis in hoc psalmo sit et in priori additam habeat 'et' coniunctionem, in fine non habeat. In eodem: *et dominabuntur eorum iusti* (Ps. XLVIII. 15). Pro 'iustis' εὐθεῖς, id est 'rectos,' in Graeco legisse uos dicitis; sed hoc propter εὐφωνίαν ita in Latinum uersum est. Aloquin et in eo loco, ubi scriptum legimus: *In libro* εὐθεῖς, 'ius-

[85] *Ep.* LX, in *CSEL.*, vol. LIV, p. 555 (*ita et*), *Ep.* XXIII, *ibid.*, p. 213 (*et*), *Comment. in Isaiam,* LIV. 11, 12, in Migne, vol. XXIV. col. 523 (*ita*).

> torum libro' intellegimus, et non debemus sic uerbum de uerbo exprimere, ut, dum syllabam sequimur, perdamus intellegentiam. In eodem: *de manu inferni cum liberauerit me* (Ps. XLVIII. 16). Pro quo in Graeco legisse uos dicitis: *cum acceperit me.* Quod quidem et nos ita de Septuaginta uertimus et miror, a quo in uestro codice deprauatum sit."

The discussion of verses 13 and 21 is stupid. In the first place, the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters have *et;* in the second place, in his quotations Jerome omits *et* even in verse 13.[86] The reading *et homo in honore cum esset* is in the Mozarabic Psalter. The treatment of verse 15 is also silly. It is quite true that, as a rule, Jerome speaks of *liber justorum,* but he just as frequently uses *recti* for εὐθεῖς, especially in the translation of this very passage from the Hebrew: "et subjicient eos *recti* in matutino." If he had said that he did not wish to disturb the translation of the *Antiqua,* there might have been some justice in his statement. But he is simply guessing when he says that euphony demands in Latin *justi* for εὐθεῖς, for Jerome himself constantly used *rectus* for εὐθύς in the Psalms, as may be seen by referring to a Concordance, while on some occasions, as in LVII. 1, "*recta* judicate," he uses *justus* in the corresponding Roman Psalter. Then the remark in regard to verse 16 is the first spark of intelligence in the forger, for it is unconditionally correct. However, this *liberauerit,* no doubt, crept in from the Roman Psalter, where we have *verumtamen Deus liberabit animam meam de manu inferi dum acceperit me.*

> "30. Quadragesimo nono: *sedens aduersus fratrem tuum loquebaris* (Ps. XLIX. 20). Pro quo in Graeco repperisse uos dicitis: κατὰ τοῦ

[86] *Comment. in Isaiam,* XXX, in Migne, vol. XXIV, col. 340, L. 1, *ibid.,* col. 476, *Comment. in Ezechielem,* XXXII, *ibid.,* vol. XXV, col. 306.

ἀδελφοῦ σου κατελάλεις, et putatis non bene uersum, quia diximus: *aduersus fratrem tuum loquebaris,* et debuisse nos dicere: 'aduersus fratrem tuum detrahebas;' quod uitiosum esse et in nostra lingua non stare etiam stultis patet. Nec ignoramus, quod καταλαλιὰ dicatur 'detractio;' quam si uoluerimus ponere; non possumus dicere: 'aduersus fratrem tuum detrahebas,' sed: 'de fratre tuo detrahebas.' Quod si fecerimus, rursum contentiosus uerborum calumniator inquiret, quare non dixerimus: κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου, hoc est 'aduersus fratrem tuum.' Haec superflua sunt et non debemus in putida nos uerborum interpretatione torquere, cum damnum non sit in sensibus, quia unaquaeque lingua, ut ante iam dixi, suis proprietatibus loquitur. In ipso: *ne quando rapiat et sit, qui eripiat* (XLIX, 22). Et in Graeco repperisse uos dicitis: *et non sit, qui eripiat,* quod et a nobis uersum est et in nostris codicibus sic habetur. Et miror, quomodo uitium librarii dormitantis ad culpam referatis interpretis, nisi forte fuerit hoc: *ne quando rapiat nec sit, qui eripiat,* et ille pro 'nec' 'et' scripserit. In eodem: *sacrificium laudis honorificabit me* (Ps. XLIX. 23). Pro quo in Graeco scribitur: δόξάσει με, id est *glorificabit me,* de quo et supra diximus. In euangelio in eo loco, ubi in Graeco legimus: πάτερ, δόξασόν με τῇ δόξῃ, ᾗ εἶχον παρὰ σοὶ πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον γενέσθαι, in Latino legitur: *pater, clarifica me* (Ioh. XVII. 5). Noluimus ergo inmutare, quod ab antiquis legebatur, quia idem sensus erat."

Here, too, Jerome is correctly arguing for an idiomatic Latin. The only trouble is that the faulty lemma is in

his Roman Psalter and also in the Mozarabic Psalter. In Jerome's quotations only the Gallican lemma occurs.[87] The reference to verse 22 is correct, for *non* seems to be omitted from the lemma in some faulty text.

> "31. Quinquagesimo quarto: *expectabam eum, qui saluum me fecit* (Ps. LIV. 9). Et dicitis uos inuenisse in Graeco: *expectabam deum*, quod additum est. In eodem: *a pusillanimitate spiritus* (Ps. LIV. 9). Et in Graeco inuenisse uos dicitis: ἀπὸ ὀλιγοψυχίας, quod proprie 'pusillanimitas' dicitur. Sed sciendum, quod pro ὀλιγοψυχία Aquila et Symmachus et Theodotio et quinta editio interpretati sunt: ἀπὸ πνεύματος, id est 'a spiritu,' et in Hebraeo scriptum sit 'merucha' omnisque sensus ita apud eos legatur: *festinabo, ut saluer a spiritu tempestatis et turbinis.* In eodem: *quoniam si inimicus maledixisset* (Ps. LIV. 13). In Graeco ὠνείδισεν, hoc est 'exprobrasset,' positum est. Sed inter maledicta et obprobria sensum non discrepare perspicuum est."

The Mozarabic Psalter has *expectabam Dominum qui me salbum faceret a pusillo animo et tempestate,* which is in keeping with the Gothic criticism. The Roman Psalter and St. Augustine omit *spiritus.* In verse 13 St. Augustine has *exprobrasset.* Besides, the Gallican Psalter reads *si inimicus meus,* while the *Utrecht Psalter,* like the *Antiqua,* has the lemma without *meus.*

> "32. Quinquagesimo quinto: *quoniam multi bellantes aduersum me, ab altitudine diei timebo* (Ps. LV. 3-4). Et dicitis in Graeco uos inenisse: *non timebo,* quod additum est. Et est

[87] *Ep.* LII, in *CSEL.*, vol. LIV, p. 437, *Apologia adversus libros Rufini*, I. 31, in Migne, vol. XXIII, col. 424, *Comment. in Isaiam*, XVIII, *ibid.*, vol. XXIV, col. 628 f.

ordo: "quoniam multi dimicant aduersum me, idcirco ego ab altitudine diei timebo,' hoc est: 'non bellantes aduersum me sed tuum excelsum timebo lumen.' In ipso: *in ira populos confringes* (Ps. LV. 8). Pro quo in Graeco legitur: ἐν ὀργῇ λαοὺς κατάξεις, (id est 'deicies,' non κατεάξεις), id est 'confringes.' Et apud Latinos pro eo, quod est, 'deicies,' id est κατάξεις, male error obtinuit κατεάξεις, id est 'confringes;' nam et in Hebraeo 'hored' habet, id est καταβίβασον, quod nos possumus diecere 'depone' et Symmachus interpretatus est κατάγαγε."

Yet *Mediol.* and Hilarius have *non timebo.* It is not possible to make any sense of the discussion of verse 8, unless Jerome is made to claim that his use of *confringes* in the Gallican and Roman Psalters is wrong and that it should be *deicies,* even as he has *detrahe* in the translation from the Hebrew.

"33. Quinquagesimo octauo: *quia deus susceptor meus* (Ps. LVIII. 10). Pro quo in Graeco positum est: *susceptor meus es tu.* Sed sciendum in Hebraeo nec 'es' scriptum nec 'tu' et apud Septuaginta solos inueniri. In ipso: *Deus meus, uoluntas eius praeueniet me* (Ps. LVIII. 11). Pro quo in Graeco scriptum est: τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ, id est *misericordia eius,* quod et uerius est. Sed in Hebraeo scriptum est: *misericordia mea praeueniet me.* In eodem: *deus ostendit mihi inter inimicos meos* (Ps. LVIII. 11). Pro quo in Graeco positum est: *deus meus;* sed 'meus' additum est. In eodem: *ne occidas eos, ne quando obliuiscantur populi tui* (Ps. LVIII. 12). Pro quo in Graeco scriptum est: *legis tuae;* sed in Septuaginta et in Hebraeo non habet 'populi tui,' sed *populi mei;*

> et a nobis ita uersum est. In eodem: *et scient, quia deus dominator Iacob finium terrae* (Ps. LVIII. 14). Pro quo in Graeco scriptum est: *et finium terrae,* sed 'et' coniunctio addita est; et ordo est: 'scient, quia deus Iacob dominator finium terrae.'

In verse 10 Jerome is made to misstate his own case. The Gallican and Roman Psalters have *es.* The lemma is the same as in the *Utrecht Psalter;* similarly, *Casin.* has *quoniam deus protectio mea; Mediol.* agrees with the Gothic criticism, for it has *quia tu Deus susceptor meus es.* In verse 11 the Gallican, Roman, and Mozarabic Psalters, and the translation from the Hebrew have *misericordia ejus,* but Sabatier gives *voluntas* for *Rom. Fabri.* Jerome is made to say that *meus* is superfluous, yet it is in the Gallican, Roman and Mozarabic Psalters. In verse 12 *populi mei* is in the translation from the Hebrew and in the Gallican Psalter. The Roman and Mozarabic Psalters have *legis tuae,* and the *Commentarioli* has *nominis tui.* In verse 14 the Gallican, Roman and Mozarabic Psalters have *et,* which is omitted in the *Antiqua, Coisl.* and *Moz.*

> "34. Quinquagesimo nono: *quis deducet me usque in Idumaeam?* (Ps. LIX. 11). Pro quo in Graeco habet: *aut quis deducet me?* Sed superfluum est."

Aut is in the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters, but absent from the Gallican Psalter.

> "35. Sexagesimo: *quoniam tu, deus meus, exaudisti orationem meam* (Ps. LX. 6), pro quo legatur in Graeco: *quia tu, deus, exaudisti me.* Quod non habet in Hebraeo nec in septuaginta interpretibus et in Latino additum est. In eodem: *psallam nomini tuo in saeculum saeculi* (Ps. LX. 9), pro quo in Graeco sit: *in saeculum.*

> Et in Hebraeo semel habet 'laed,' id est 'in aeternum,' et non 'lolam,' quod est 'in saeculum.' "

If Jerome objects to the omission of *meus,* this is omitted in the Roman Psalter. If he objects to *me* for *meam orationem,* there is no warrant for such a reading in the Greek. It is impossible to make out what the statement to verse 9 is, as Jerome has *in saeculum saeculi* in the Gallican and Roman Psalters, and *jugiter* in his translation from the Hebrew.

> "36. Sexagesimo primo: *quia deus adiutor noster in aeternum* (Ps. LXI. 9). Pro quo in Graeco est: *deus adiutor noster.* Ergo 'in aeternum' obelus est."

In aeternum is omitted in the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters and in the translation from the Hebrew; *quia* is omitted in the Gallican and Mozarabic Psalters and in the translation from the Hebrew. The lemma is found complete in the *Utrecht Psalter.*

> "37. Sexagesimo secundo: *sitiuit tibi anima mea* (Ps. LXII. 2). Pro quo in Graeco sit: *sitiuit in te anima mea.* Sed in Hebraeo non habet 'attha,' quod significat 'te,' sed 'lach,' quod ostenditur 'tibi,' quod et omnes interpretes transtulerunt. Ergo secundum linguae proprietatem uersum est in Latinum."

Here the forger has again blundered egregiously. Jerome has *sitivit in te* in the Gallican and Roman Psalters (as it is also found in the Mozarabic Psalter) and *sitivit te* in his translation from the Hebrew, and not *tibi* for *lach,* as he claims here. In the *Commentarioli* and in his quotations Jerome has *in te,*[88] once *ad te.*[89] *Sitivit tibi* is in Hilarius and *Casin.*

[88] *Ep.* CVIII, in *CSEL.*, vol. LV, p. 337, *Comment. in Isaiam,* LXIII, 18, 19, in Migne, vol. XXIV. col. 620, *Comment. in Osee,* VI. 3, *ibid.,* vol. XXV, col. 868.

[89] *Comment. in Ezechielem,* XVI. 23 seqq., *ibid.,* col. 144.

"38. Sexagesimo tertio: *sagittae paruulorum factae sunt plagae eorum* (Ps. LXIII. 8). Pro quo in Graeco: *sagitta paruulorum;* sed, si sic dicamus, non resonat in Latino: 'sagitta paruulorum factae sunt plagae eorum.' Pro quo melius habet in Hebraeo: *percutiet eos deus iaculo repentino et inferentur plagae eorum.*"

The Septuagint has βέλος.

"39. Sexagesimo quarto: *qui conturbas profundum maris, sonum fluctuum eius* (Ps. LXIV. 8). In Graeco additum scribitis: *quis sustinebit?* Quod superfluum est; subauditur enim: 'qui conturbas profundum maris et conturbas sonum fluctuum eius.' In eodem: *parasti cibum illorum, quoniam ita est praeparatio eius* (Ps. LXIV. 10). Et dicitis, quod in Graeco non sit 'eius,' cum in Hebraeo 'thechina' manifeste praeparationem eius' significet; 'eius' autem, id est 'terrae,' de qua supra dixerat: *uisitasti terram et inebriasti eam.*"

In verse 8 the Roman Psalter and the *Antiqua* have *quis sustinebit* and the Mozarabic Psalter has *quis sufferet.* In verse 10 the Septuagint omits *ejus,* and Jerome writes in the Roman Psalter *praeparatio tua,* which he quotes. [90]

"40. Sexagesimo quinto: *holocausta medullata offeram tibi cum incensu arietum* (Ps. LXV. 15). Pro quo dicitis inuenisse uos: *cum incensu et arietibus,* sed male; in Hebraeo enim scriptum est: 'em catoroth helim,' quod interpretatur: μετὰ θυμιάματος κριῶν, id est: 'cum incensu arietum.' In eodem: *propterea exaudiuit deus* (Ps. LXV. 19). Pro quo in Graeco inuenisse uos

[90] *Comment. in Ezechielem,* XLVII. 6 seqq., in Migne, vol. XXV, col. 472.

dicitis: *exaudiuit me deus,* quod superfluum est." *Cum incensu et arietibus* and *exaudivit me deus* are in the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters.

"41. Sexagesimo septimo: *et exultent in conspectu eius* (Ps. LXVII. 5). Pro quo in Graeco inuenisse uos dicitis: *et exultate in conspectu eius.* Quod ita uersum est et a nobis, sed a quo in codice uestro corruptum sit, scire non possum. In eodem: *etenim non credunt inhabitare dominum* (Ps. LXVII. 19). Pro quo in Graeco legisse uos dicitis: καὶ γὰρ ἀπειθοῦντας τοῦ κατασκηνῶσαι. Quod utrumque falsum est. Nos enim transtulimus: *etenim non credentes inhabitare dominum,* ut sit sensus et pendeat ex superioribus: *'ascendisti in altum, cepisti captiuitatem, accepisti dona in hominibus* et eos, qui non credebant dominum inhabitare posse mortalibus.' In eodem: *deus benedictus dominus die cottidie* (Ps. LXVII. 20). Pro quo in Graeco inuenisse uos dicitis: *dominus benedictus deus, benedictus dominus die cottidie;* sed melius et uerius, quod supra. In eodem: *uiderunt ingressus tui, deus* (Ps. LXVII. 25), pro quo in Graeco scriptum sit: *uisi sunt ingressus tui, deus.* In Hebraeo ita habet: 'rachua alichatach,' quod Aquila et Symmachus et Theodotio et quinta sextaque editio interpretati sunt: *uiderunt itinera tua, deus,* et, quod sequitur: *itinera dei mei regis, qui est in sancto.* Ergo a nobis ita legendum est: *uiderunt ingressus tuos, deus,* et scriptoris uitium relinquendum, qui nominatiuum posuit pro accusatiuo, licet in Septuaginta et in Ἑξαπλοῖς ita reppererim: ἐθεώρησαν αἱ πορεῖαί σου, ὁ θεός, et pro eo, quod est ἐθεώρησαν, hoc est 'uiderunt,' in multis codicibus habet

> ἐθεωρήθησαν, quod et obtinuit consuetudo. In eodem: *ingressus dei mei, regis mei, qui est in sancto;* subauditur: 'uiderunt ingressus dei mei, regis mei.' Quod autem dicitis 'mei' in Graeco in 'rege' non adpositum, apertissimi mendacii est; secundo enim ponitur et 'dei mei' et 'regis mei,' blandientis affectu, ut, qui omnium deus et rex est, suus specialiter deus fiat et rex merito seruitutis. Denique in Hebraeo scriptum habet: 'heli melchi,' quod 'deum meum et regem meum' significat. In eodem: *regna terrae, cantate deo, psallite domino* (Ps. LXVII 33). Et dicitis hoc in isto uersiculo non esse scriptum: *psallite domino,* quoniam statim sequatur: *diapsalma. psallite deo, qui ascendit super caelum caeli ad orientem* (Ps. LXVII. 33-34), cum iste uersiculus magis habere debeat iuxta Hebraicam ueritatem: *cantate deo, psallite domino,* et illud, quod sequitur in principio uersus alterius, *psallite deo* non sit in libris authenticis, sed obelo praenotatum. Ergo et uos legite magis ea, quae uera sunt, ne, dum additum suscipitis, quod a propheta scriptum est, relinquatis."

In verse 6 *et* is in the Gallican, but not in the Roman Psalter, *et exultent* is in the *Antiqua,* and *exultent* in the Mozarabic Psalter. In verse 19 the Gallican Psalter, the *Commentarioli* and the *Tractatus de Psalmo LXVII* have *etenim non credentes inhabitare Dominum* (*Deum*), but the Roman Psalter has *etenim non credunt inhabitare: Dominus Deus benedictus,* while *etenim non credunt inhabitare Dominum* is in the *Antiqua, Coisl., Corb.,* St. Augustine and *Moz.* It is not clear why, in verse 20, Jerome's lemma is better, since the Gallican and Roman Psalters drop *deus* altogether. The Mozarabic Psalter has the same as the Gothic, with the first *dominus* omitted. The

discussion of verse 25 is all useless, since *viderunt ingressus tui* does not occur in the Psalters, but in *Corb.*, the *Utrecht Psalter* and the *Tractatus de Psalmo LXVII. Mei,* after *regis,* is omitted in the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters. In verse 33 it is not clear what the forger is driving at, for the Gallican and Roman Psalters have *psallite Domine. Diapsalma. psallite Deo,* while the translation from the Hebrew leaves out *psallite Deo.* Jerome writes *cantate Deo, psallite Domino,* in his quotations.[91] It is impossible to make out what truth the Goths are supposed to follow.

> "42. Sexagesimo octauo: *laudabo nomen dei cum cantico* (Ps. LXVIII. 31). Pro quo dicitis uos repperisse in Graeco: *dei mei,* sed 'mei' superfluum est."

Mei is in the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters.

> "43. Septuagesimo: *deus, ne elongeris a me* (Ps. LXX. 12). Quod dicitis in Graeco positum: *deus meus,* superfluum est. In eodem: *deus, docuisti me ex iuuentute mea* (Ps. LXX. 17). Et in hoc, quod apud Graecos inuenisse uos dicitis, *deus meus* superfluum est. In eodem: *donec adnuntiem brachium tuum* (Ps. LXX. 18). Et dicitis in Graeco uos repperisse: *mirabilia tua,* quod de superiori uersiculo est: *et usque nunc pronuntiabo mirabilia tua.* Bene ergo hic habet 'brachium.' "

In verse 12 *meus* is in *Rom., Coisl.* and St. Augustine. In verse 17 *meus* is in *Casin.* and the *Antiqua; ex juventute* is not in Jerome, but in the *Utrecht Psalter.* In verse 18 St. Augustine has *mirabilia tua.*

> "44. Septuagesimo primo: *et adorabunt eum omnes reges* (Ps. LXXI. 11). Illud, quod

91 *Comment. in Ezechielem,* XL. 20 seqq., in Migne, vol. XXV, col. 385, *Comment. in Amos,* VII. 6 seqq., *ibid.,* col. 1068.

> in Graeco inuenisse uos dicitis: *reges terrae,* superfluum est. In eodem: *benedictus dominus deus, deus Israel* (Ps. LXXI. 18). Dicitis in Graeco bis 'deus' non haberi, cum in Hebraico sit et apud Septuaginta manifestissime triplex domini deique nuncupatio mysterium trinitatis sit. In eodem: *et benedictum nomen maiestatis eius in aeternum* (Ps. LXXI. 19). Hoc ergo, quod in Graeco inuenisse uos dicitis: *in aeternum et in saeculum saeculi,* superflue a Graecis sciatis adpositum, quod nec Hebraeus habet nec septuaginta interpretes."

In verse 11 *reges terrae* is in the Gallican, Roman and Mozarabic Psalters. *Terrae* is omitted in the *Utrecht Psalter,* in Hilarius, in St. Augustine, and in the translation from the Hebrew. In verse 18 *Deus* is given once in the Gallican and Roman Psalters, but twice in the translation from the Hebrew and in *Casin.* In verse 19 the Gothic lemma is in the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters.

> "45. Septuagesimo secundo: *prodiet quasi ex adipe* (Ps. LXXII. 7). Et dicitis uos apud Graecos inuenisse ἐξελεύσονται, id est 'prodient,' quod falsum est. Nam et apud septuaginta interpretes ita scriptum est: ἐξελεύσεται ὡς ἐκ στέατος ἡ ἀδικία αὐτῶν. In eodem: *quomodo scit deus* (Ps. LXXII. 11). In Graeco dicitis non esse 'deum,' cum et apud Septuaginta scriptum sit: πῶς ἔγνω ὁ θεός, et omnes interpretes similiter de Hebraeo transtulerint. In eodem: *intellegam in nouissimis eorum* (Ps. LXXII. 17). Pro quo in Graeco legisse uos dicitis: *et intellegam;* sed hic 'et' coniunctio superflua est. In eodem: *defecit caro mea et cor meum* (Ps. LXXII. 26). Pro quo male peruersum ordinem quidam tenent: *defecit cor*

> *meum et caro mea.* In eodem: *Ut adnuntiem omnes praedicationes tuas* (Ps. LXXII. 28). Pro quo uos in Graeco legisse dixistis: τὰς αἰνέσεις σου, id est 'laudes tuas.' Et sciendum, quod in Hebraeo 'malochothach' scriptum habet, quod Aquila ἀγγελίας σου, id est 'nuntios tuos,' Septuaginta τὰς ἐπαγγελίας σου, id est 'praedicationes' uel 'promissa' interpretati sunt, licet et laus et praedicatio unum utrumque significet."

In verse 7 *prodiet* is in St. Augustine, and, what is worse, the *Commentarioli* has *exiet.* The Gallican and Roman Psalters have *prodiit,* while the translation from the Hebrew has, it is true, the past tense, but in the plural, *processerunt a pinguedine oculi eorum,* thus refuting the forger's statements all around. The Goths' objection to *Deus* in verse 11 is, no doubt, due to a reading such as in *Casin.*, where we have *quomodo cognouit altissimus,* where *altissimus* stands for *el* of the Hebrew. In verse 17 the forger did not consult Jerome. In the translation from the Hebrew we have *et intelligentiam in novissimo eorum,* in the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters, *et intelligam,* while in the Gallican Psalter we have *et* marked by an obelus; but all the quotations in Jerome preserve the *et.*[92] *Et* is absent from *Casin.* In verse 26 the Gothic order is found in the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters. In verse 28 *laudes* is in the Roman Psalter and in the translation from the Hebrew, while *praedicationes* is in the Gallican Psalter.

> "46. Septuagesimo tertio: *ut quid, deus, reppulisti in finem?* (Ps. LXXIII. 1). Pro quo male apud Graecos legitur ordine commutato: *ut quid reppulisti, deus?* In eodem: *quanta ma-*

92 *Ep.* XXXIX, in *CSEL.*, vol. LIV, p. 297; *Dialogus adversus Pelagianos,* I. 15, in Migne, vol. XXIII, col. 509; *Comment. in Ezechielem.* XLI. 3, 4, *ibid.*, vol. XXV, col. 397.

lignatus est inimicus in sancto! (Ps. LXXIII. 1). Miror, quis in codice uestro emendando peruerterit, ut pro 'sancto' 'sanctis' posuerit, cum et in nostro codice 'in sancto' inueniatur. In eodem: *incendamus omnes dies festos dei a terra* (Ps. LXXIII. 8). Pro quo in Graeco scriptum est καταπαύσωμεν et nos ita transtulimus: *quiescere faciamus omnes dies festos dei a terra.* Et miror, quomodo e latere adnotationem nostram nescio quis temerarius scribendam in corpore putauerit, quam nos pro eruditione legentis scripsimus hoc modo: 'non habet καταπαύσωμεν, ut quidam putant, sed κατακαύσωμεν, id est *incendamus.*' Et quia retulit mihi sanctus presbyter Firmus, qui huius operis exactor fuit, inter plurimos hinc habitam quaestionem, plenius de hoc disputandum uidetur. In Hebraeo scriptum est: 'sarphu chol moedahu hel baares,' quod Aquila et Symmachus uerterunt: ἐνεπύρισαν πάσας τὰς συνταγὰς τοῦ θεοῦ, id est: *incenderunt omnes sollemnitates dei in terra,* Quinta: κατέκαυσαν, id est 'conbusserunt,' Sexta: κατακαύσωμεν, id est 'conburamus,' quod et Septuaginta iuxta exemplorum ueritatem transtulisse perspicuum est. Theodotion quoque ἐνεπυρίσαμεν uertit, id est 'succendimus.' Ex quo perspicuum est sic psallendum, ut nos interpretati sumus, et tamen sciendum, quid Hebraica ueritas habeat. Hoc enim, quod Septuaginta transtulerunt propter uetustatem in ecclesiis decantandum est et illud ab eruditis sciendum propter notitiam scripturarum. Unde, si quid pro studio e latere additum est, non debet poni in corpore, ne priorem translationem pro scribentium uoluntate conturbet. In eodem: *contribulasti capita*

draconum in aquis; tu confregisti capita draconis (Ps. LXXIII. 13-14). Sic lectionis ordo sequitur, ut in priori uersu 'tu' non habeat, sed in secundo, et 'aquae' plurali numero scribantur, non singulari, sicut et Aquila uerbum Hebraicum 'ammaim' τῶν ὑδάτων, id est 'aquarum,' interpretatus est. In eodum: *ne obliuiscaris uoces inimicorum tuorum* (Ps. LXXIII. 23). Pro quo in Graeco τῶν ἱκετῶν σου, id est 'deprecantium te,' scriptum dicitis. In Hebraeo 'sorarach' legitur, quod Aquila 'hostium tuorum,' Symmachus 'bellantium contra te,' Septuaginta et sexta editio 'inimicorum tuorum' interpretati sunt. Et est sensus pendens ex superioribus: *'memor esto inproperiorum tuorum, eorum, quae ab insipiente sunt tota die; ne obliuiscaris uoces inimicorum tuorum,* id est uoces, quae te blasphemant tibique in populo tuo detrahunt.' Unde sequitur: *superbia eorum, qui te oderunt, ascendit semper* (Ps. LXXIII. 23), id est: 'dum tu differs poenas, illi proficiunt in blasphemiis.' "

In verse 1 Jerome is made to object to the order, although in the Roman Psalter he has *repulisti nos, Deus.* The same is in the Mozarabic Psalter. Similarly, in verse 3, the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters have *sanctis tuis,* while the translation from the Hebrew has *omnia mala egit inimicus in sanctuario.* What a mass of nonsense there is in the discussion of verse 8! Throughout the whole of the Letter Jerome defends the readings from the Hebrew and demands that we turn to the Hebrew, wherever there is any discrepancy. Again and again he changes the text to suit the Hebrew reading; here, where the discrepancy is of the greatest, he sticks to his error in the Gallican and Roman Psalters, and rejects his own reading in the translation from the Hebrew, "*incenderunt*

omnes solemnitates dei in terra." In all of his genuine works Jerome constantly dwells on the point that he made no changes only in those cases where the Septuagint did not differ essentially from the Hebrew. But here he suddenly changes his policy, to uphold the venerableness of the Church text. The reading from καταϰαύσωμεν occurs in none of the ancient texts, neither in the *Antiqua,* nor in St. Augustine, but it does occur in the very late *Casin.,* "*comburemus* omnes festiuitates." This is a convincing proof that the correction with the aid of the Hebrew is due to a considerably later period than Jerome's. In verses 13, 14 the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters have *tu* in the first sentence; so, too, in a quotation by Jerome, *tu contriuisti capita draconum in aquis,*[93] although in the translation from the Hebrew this sentence is without *tu.* In verse 23 the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters have *quaerentium,* while St. Augustine has *deprecantium.*

> "47. Septuagesimo quarto: *narrabimus mirabilia tua* (Ps. LXXIV. 2). Pro quo male apud Graecos legitur: *narrabo omnia mirabilia tua.*"

The Roman and Mozarabic Psalters have *narrabo omnia mirabilia tua.*

> "48. Septuagesimo quinto: *omnes uiri diuitiarum manibus suis* (Ps. LXXV. 6). Et non, ut uos a nescio quo deprauatum legitis: *in manibus suis.* In eodem: *terribili et ei, qui aufert spiritus principum* (Ps. LXXV. 6). Dicitis, quod 'ei' non sit scriptum in graeco; uerum est sed, nisi apposuerimus 'ei,' Latinus sermo non resonat. neque enim possumus recte dicere: 'terribili et qui aufert spiritus principum.' "

The forger did not know the true Jerome, for *in* is in

[93] *Ep.* LXIX, in *CSEL.*, vol. LIV, p. 670.

the Gallican, Roman and Mozarabic Psalters. Some Gallican Psalters have it marked with an obelus, and *Casin.* omits it. In verse 13 *spiritus* is in the Utrecht Psalter; *Corb.* has *et qui auferet spiritum.*

> "49. Septuagesimo sexto: *et meditatus sum nocte cum corde meo et exercitabar et scopebam spiritum meum* (Ps. LXXVI. 7). Pro quo in Hebraeo legimus: *recordabar psalmorum meorum in nocte, cum corde meo loquebar et scopebam spiritum meum.* Pro 'exercitatione' ἀδολεσχίαν, id est 'decantationem' quandam et 'meditationem' Septuaginta transtulerunt et pro eo, quod 'ei' non sit scriptum in Graeco; uerum est, ἔσκαλλον, quod Symmachus transtulit ἀνηρεύνων, id est 'perscrutabar' siue 'quaerebam' et Quinta similiter. Proprie autem σκαλισμὸς in agri cultura in sariendo dicitur, id est sarculando; et, quomodo ibi quaeruntur herbae sarculo, quae secentur, sic et iste retractatum cogitationum suarum μεταφορικῶς a sarculo demonstrauit. Et sciendum, quod ἔσκαλον semel, ἔσκαλλον frequenter significat. In eodem: *a generatione in generationem* (Ps. LXXVI. 9). Hoc, quod in Graeco sequens inuenisse uos dicitis: *consummauit uerbum,* recte non habet in Latino, quia et in nullo habetur interpretum."

Jerome has to instruct the Goths in Greek grammar, telling them the difference between ἔσκαλλον and ἔσκαλον, whereas they constantly quote correct Greek sentences to him. At the same time, we do not find *scopebam* in the Roman Psalter, but *ventilabam in me,* while the translation from the Hebrew has *scrutabar spiritum meum.* The lemma of verse 6 is in the Gallican Psalter and in *Tractatus de Psalmo LXXVI,* but in his quotations he writes

nocte cum corde meo meditabar,[94] or *in nocte cum corde meo exercebar.*[95] In verse 7 *Mediol.* has *complebit verbum.* What is worse, the translation from the Hebrew has *consummabitur verbum.* Here the "Hebraica veritas" does not count for anything.

> "50. Septuagesimo septimo: *et narrabunt filiis suis* (Ps. LXXVII. 6). Pro quo in Graeco habet ἀναγγελοῦσιν, quod est 'adnuntiabunt.' Sed sciendum, quod in Hebraeo 'iasaphpheru' scriptum est, quod Aquila et Symmachus 'narrabunt' transtulerunt. In eodem: *et occidit pingues eorum* (Ps. LXXVII. 31). Sic habet et in Hebraeo, hoc est 'bamasmnehem,' quod Aquila interpretatus est ἐν λιπαροῖς αὐτῶν, Symmachus τοὺς λιπαρωτέρους αὐτῶν, Septuaginta et Theodotion et Quinta ἐν τοῖς πίοσιν αὐτῶν. Quod quidam non intellegentes pro πίοσιν putauerunt scriptum πλείοσιν. In eodem: *dilexerunt eum in ore suo et lingua sua mentiti sunt ei* (Ps. LXXVII. 36). Et in Hebraeo ita scriptum est: 'icazbulo,' et omnes uoce simili transtulerunt: ἐψεύσαντο αὐτῷ, id est 'mentiti sunt ei.' Quis autem uoluerit pro 'ei' ponere 'eum' et uitiare exemplaria, non est mei iudicii. In eodem: *et propitius fiet peccatis eorum et non disperdet eos* (Ps. LXXVII. 38). Dicitis, quod 'eos' in Graeco non habeat, quod et uerum est; sed nos, ne sententia pendeat, Latinum sermonem sua proprietate compleuimus. Si quis autem putat διαφθερεῖ non 'perditionem' sonare, sed 'corruptionem,' recordetur illius tituli, in quo scribitur: εἰς τὸ τέλος μὴ διαφθείρῃς, hoc est.

[94] *Dialogus adversus Pelagianos*, II. 19, in Migne, vol. XXIII, col. 556.

[95] *Comment. in Sophoniam*, III. 10 seqq., in Migne, vol. XXV, col. 1381.

in finem ne disperdas et non, ut plerique κακοζήλως interpretantur, *ne corrumpas.* In eodem: *et induxit eos in montem sanctificationis suae, montem, quem adquisiuit dextera eius* (Ps. LXXVII. 54). Pro quo apud Septuaginta legitur: ὄρος τοῦτο, ὃ ἐκτήσατο ἡ δεξιὰ αὐτοῦ — et non, ut uos ponitis, ὃ ἐκτίσατο —, hoc est: *quem adquisiuit dextera eius.* Ergo secundum Hebraicam proprietatem interpretatus est Symmachus: *montem, quem adquisiuit dextera eius.* In eodem: *et auerterunt se et non seruauerunt pactum, quemadmodum patres eorum* (Ps. LXXVII. 57). Scio quod 'pactum' non habeat in Hebraeo, sed, quando omnes uoce simili transtulerunt ἠσυνθέτησαν et apud Graecos συνθήκη 'pactum' dicitur, ex uno uerbo significatur: *non seruauerunt pactum,* licet Septuaginta ἠθέτησαν posuerint. In eodem: *in terra, quam fundauit in saecula* (Ps. LXXVII. 69). Pro quo scriptum inuenisse uos dicitis: *in terra, quam fundauit in saecula.* In Hebraeo ita scriptum est, ut uertit et Symmachus: εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἣν ἐθεμελίωσεν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Si autem non de terra dicitur, quod fundata sit, sed de alia, quae fundata uideatur in terra, probent ex prioribus et sequentibus, quis sensus sit, ut nescio quid, quod non dicitur, fundatum uideatur in terra. Sin autem sanctificium in terra fundatum putant, debuit scribi: *in terra fundauit illud in saecula.* In eodem: *et in intellectibus manuum suarum deduxit eos* (Ps. LXXVII. 72). Non habet ἐν τῇ συνέσει, ut scribitis, numero singulari, sed ἐν ταῖς συνέσεσιν quod 'intellegentias' sonat, sicut habetur et in Hebraeo 'bathabunoth,' quod est 'intellectibus.' "

In verse 6 the "Hebraica veritas" is again decisive, to

justify *narrabunt* of Jerome's three versions and the *Tractatus de Psalmo LXXVII.* This is one of the rare cases of the forger's correct statements. In verse 31 the Roman Psalter has *plurimos,* which is also in *Moz., Corb., Mediol.,* Cassiodorus and St Augustine; and the latter distinctly says that he did not find *pingues* in the Greek codices. In verse 36 Jerome has *eum* in the Gallican and Roman Psalters, and *ei* in the translation from the Hebrew, so that the discussion is useless. Similarly useless is the discussion of verse 38, because not only does St. Augustine write *ne corrumpas* without any sense of κακοζηλία, but several manuscripts of the Roman Psalter write in Psalms LVI. 1, LVII. 1, LVIII. 1, *ne corrumpas* for *ne disperdas,* while in Psalm LXXIV. 1, only *ne corrumpas* is recorded. Several manuscripts of the Gallican Psalter here also have *ne corrumpas,* and the *Tractatus de Psalmo LXXIV* not only has *ne corrumpas,* but goes on to say: "hoc verbum multis modis interpretatur; dicit et David ad aliquem de amicis suis: 'ne corrumpas eum,' hoc est Saul." As it stands, the discussion of verse 54 makes no sense, and so cannot be discussed. In verse 57 Jerome again departs from the "Hebraica veritas," for *pactum* is not in his translation from the Hebrew; nor is it in *Moz., Corb., Carnut.,* or *Rom. Fabri.* In verse 69 Jerome again abandons the "Hebraica veritas," for in his translation from the Hebrew he writes *quasi terram fundavit illud in saeculum,* while the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters have the Gothic reading. In verse 72 the Gallican Psalter does not have *eos* of the lemma, which is found, however, in the *Utrecht Psalter, Corb.* and *Moz.* St. Augustine has *in intellectu,* and Jerome himself writes *in sensu* in the Roman Psalter and *in prudentia* in the translation from the Hebrew.

"51. Septuagesimo octauo: *posuerunt Hierusalem in pomorum custodiam* (Ps. LXXVIII. 1).

Quod Graece εἰς ὀπωροφυλάκιον dicitur nec aliter potest uerti, quam a nobis translatum est; significat autem speculam, quam custodes agrorum et pomorum habere consuerunt, ut de amplissima urbe paruum tuguriunculum uix remanserit. Hoc secundum Graecos. Ceterum in Hebraeo 'lichin' scriptum habet, quod Aquila uertit λιθαόριον, id est 'aceruum et cumulum lapidum,' quibus uineae et agri purgari solent."

It is not clear what Gothic criticism Jerome is supposed to meet here.

"52. Septuagesimo nono: *et plantasti radices eius hinc* (Ps. LXXIX. 10). Et dicitis, quod in Graeco 'hinc' non habeat; et bene, nam et in nostris codicibus non habetur; et miror, quis inperitorum uestros libros falsauerit."

None of the accessible texts has *hinc.*

"53. Octogesimo secundo: *hereditate possideamus sanctuarium dei* (Ps. LXXXII. 13). Et dicitis, quod in Graeco sit scriptum κληρονομήσωμεν ἑαυτοῖς, id est 'possideamus nobis.' Quae superflua quaestio est; quando enim dicitur 'possideamus,' intellegitur et 'nobis.' "

Nobis is in the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters and in the translation from the Hebrew, though absent from the Gallican Psalter, the *Tractatus de Psalmo LXXXII,* and a quotation. [96]

"54. Octogesimo tertio: *cor meum et caro mea exultauit in deum uiuum* (Ps. LXXXIII. 3). Pro quo in Graeco scriptum dicitis *exultauerunt.* In hoc nulla contentio est; si enim legimus 'exultauit,' intellegitur 'cor meum exultauit et caro

[96] *Comment. in Osee,* XI. 14, 15, in Migne, vol. XXV, col. 913.

mea exultauit;' sin autem 'exultauerunt,' duo pariter exultauerunt, id est cor et caro. Et quaeso uos, ut huius modi ineptias et superfluas contentiones, ubi nulla est sensus inmutatio, declinetis. In eodem: *beatus uir, cuius est auxilium abs te* (Ps. LXXXIII. 6). In Graeco inuenisse uos dicitis: *cui est auxilium eius abs te;* quod quia nos in Latina interpretatione uitauimus, ut dicitis, reprehendimur. Cui enim non pateat, quod, si dicere uoluerimus: *cui est auxilium eius,* apertissimum uitium sit et, quando praecesserit 'cui,' sequi non debeat 'eius?' Nisi forte uitii arguimur, quod uitauimus uitium. In eodem: *In ualle lacrimarum* (Ps. LXXXIII. 7). Pro quo dicitis in Graeco scriptum esse κλαυθμῶνος, id est 'plorationis,' sed, siue ploratum siue planctum siue flectum siue lacrimas dixerimus, unus est sensus. Et nos hoc sequimur, ut, ubi nulla de sensu est inmutatio, Latini sermonis elegantiam conseruemus."

Exultaverunt is in the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters, in the *Commentarioli,* and in a quotation.[97] In verse 6 *ejus* is in St. Augustine. In verse 7 *plorationis* is in the Mozarabic Psalter.

"55. Octogesimo quarto: *benedixisti, domine, terram tuam* (Ps. LXXXIV. 2). Pro eo, quod est 'benedixisti,' in Graeco scriptum dicitis εὐδοκήσας. Et quaeritis, quomodo hoc uerbum exprimi debeat in Latinum. Si contentiose uerba scrutamur et syllabas, possumus dicere: 'bene placuit, domine, terra tua' et, dum uerba sequimur, sensus ordinem perdimus. Aut certe addendum est aliquid, ut eloquii ordo seruetur, et dicendum: 'complacuit tibi, domine, terra tua.' Quod si fecerimus, rursum a nobis quaeritur, quare addiderimus 'tibi,'

97 *Comment. in Zachariam, Prologus,* in Migne, vol. XXV, col. 1417.

> cum nec in Graeco sit nec in Hebraeo. Eadem igitur interpretandi sequenda est regula, quam saepe diximus, ut, ubi non fit damnum in sensu, linguae, in quam transferimus, εὐφωνία et proprietas conseruetur. In eodem: *misericordia et ueritas obuiauerunt sibi* (Ps. LXXXIV. 11). Et dicitis, quod in Graeco 'sibi' non habeat. Nec in Hebraeo habet et apud Septuaginta obelo praenotatum est, quae signa dum per scriptorum neglegentiam a plerisque quasi superflua relinquuntur, magnus in legendo error exoritur. Sin autem non fuerit additum 'sibi,' misericordia et ueritas non sibi, sed alii occurrisse credentur nec iustitia et pax sibi dedisse osculum, sed alteri."

Here Jerome is again abandoning the "Hebraica veritas," for in his translation from the Hebrew he writes *placatus es* and omits *sibi*, which is also omitted in the *Antiqua*. What is worse, *in his Tractatus de Psalmo LXXXIV* he says that εὐδόκησας κύριε is better than *benedixisti* and that the two do not correspond to each other, "melius dicitur in graeco Εὐδόκησας κύριε, hoc est, bene placuit tibi domine in terram tuam," etc. [98]

> "56. Octogesimo quinto: *et non proposuerunt te in conspectu suo* (Ps. LXXXV. 14). Et dicitis, quod in uestro codice 'te' non habeat. Addite 'te' et emendato errore librarii uestrum quoque errorem emendabitis. In eodem: *et tu, domine deus, miserator et misericors* (Ps. LXXXV. 15). In Graeco inuenisse uos dicitis: *et tu, domine deus meus,* quod superfluum est; 'meus' enim nec in Hebraeo habetur nec in Septuaginta."

In this paragraph the forger once more gives himself away. The Goths say that in their codex there is no *te*. As this *te* is omitted only in the Mozarabic Psalter, where

98 *Anecdota Maredsolana*, vol. III, pars III, p. 41.

we have *Deum* instead, we see that the Goths are quoting their lemmata from a Mozarabic text, as may be observed at every step. *Meus* is in the Mozarabic Psalter.

> "57. Octogesimo octauo: *magnus et horrendus* (Ps. LXXXVIII. 8). Pro quo in Graeco inuenisse uos dicitis φοβερός, quod significat 'terribilis, timendus, formidandus.' Ego puto id ipsum significari et 'horrendum'—non, ut uulgus existimat, despiciendum et squalidum—secundum illud:
>
> *mihi frigidus horror*
> *membra quatit* (*Verg. Aen.*, III. 29-30)
>
> et
>
> *horror ubique animo, simul ipsa silentia terrent* (*Verg. Aen.*, II. 755)
>
> et
>
> *monstrum horrendum, ingens* (*Verg. Aen.*, III. 658)
>
> et multa his similia. In eodem: *tunc locutus es in uisione sanctis tuis* (Ps. LXXXVIII. 20). Pro quo in Graeco *filiis tuis* inuenisse uos dicitis. Sed sciendum, quod in Hebraeo 'laasidach' habet, quod omnes τοῖς ὁσίοις σου, id est 'sanctis tuis,' transtulerunt et sola sexta editio *prophetis tuis* interpretata est sensum magis quam uerbum exprimens; et in κοινῇ tantum pro 'sanctis' 'filios' repperi. In eodem: *tu uero reppulisti et respexisti* (Ps. LXXXVIII. 39). Pro quo in Graeco ἐξουδένωσας inuenisse uos dicitis. Unius litterae mutatio quantum uobis fecit errorem! Non enim 'respexisti,' sed 'despexisti et pro nihilo duxisti' interpretati sumus. Nisi forte ἐξουδένωσας non putatis transferendum 'despexisti,' sed secundum disertissimum istius temporis interpretem 'adnihilasti' uel 'adnullasti' uel 'nullificasti'

et si qua alia possunt inueniri apud inperitos portenta uerborum."

Much good the quotations from Vergil could do the Goths! The Gallican Psalter does not have *horrendus*, but *terribilis*. The Roman and Mozarabic Psalters have *metuendus*. *Casin.* has *horrendus*. In verse 20 Jerome is supposed to have found *filiis tuis* in the κοινή, which he condemns. In reality it is in the Hexaplar Septuagint, which he is supposed to translate. Yet he writes *sanctis* in the Gallican version and in the translation from the Hebrew and *filiis* in the Roman Psalter, in a quotation,[99] and in *Tractatus de Psalmo LXXXVIII*,[100] where it is explained as "in visione sanctis tuis, prophetis tuis atque electis," that is, by the various explanations in the *Hexapla*. To make matters worse, in the *Commentarioli* he says: "*tu locutus es in visione filiis tuis*: omnes reliqui interpretati sunt 'sanctis tuis.' Denique sexta editio 'prophetas' pro filiis posuit." Thus the Letter denies all his previous and later statements, confuses the corrupt κοινή of paragraph 2 with the *Hexapla* and hopelessly mixes matters. In verse 39 *respexisti* is unquestionably a mistake.

> "58. Octogesimo nono: *a saeculo et usque in saeculum tu es, deus* (Ps. LXXXIX. 2). Et dicitis, quod in Graeco non sit 'deus.' Quod apud eos deesse manifestum est. Nam est in Hebraico et omnes alii interpretes et Septuaginta similiter transtulerunt: ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος σὺ εἶ, ὁ θεός, quod Hebraice dicitur: 'meolam ad olam ath hel.' In eodem: *quoniam superuenit mansuetudo et corripiemur* (Ps. LXXXIX. 10). In Graeco uos dicitis inuenisse: *mansuetudo super nos*. Sed et hoc superfluum est."

99 *Comment. in Isaiam*, LXV. 4, 5, in Migne, vol. XXIV, col. 633.
100 *Op. cit.*

The Mozarabic Psalter omits *deus*. *Super nos* is in the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters.

> "59. Nonagesimo: *dicet domino*: *susceptor meus es tu* (Ps. XC. 2). Et dicitis, quod in Graeco 'es' non habeat. Ego uobis amplius dicam, quod apud Hebraeos nec 'es' habeat nec 'tu,' sed apud Septuaginta et apud Latinos pro εὐφωνίᾳ et uerborum consequentia positum sit."

Here we see plainly what a hodge-podge the statements are that are ascribed to Jerome. In LXIII. 10 the omission of *es* and *tu* was justified, because they were omitted in Hebrew, although found in the Septuagint; yet, as we noted, both the Gallican and Roman Psalters had *es*. Here we are told that the Hebrew omits both, but that the Latin needs them for euphony's sake. However, in *Tractatus de Psalmo XC* [101] we have the lemma without *tu*.

> "60. Nonagesimo tertio: *beatus homo, quem tu erudieris, domine* (Ps. XCIII. 12). Dicitis in Graeco non esse 'tu.' Et uerum est, sed apud Latinos propter εὐφωνίαν positum. Si enim dicamus: 'beatus homo, quem erudieris, domine,' compositionis elegantiam non habebit. Et quando dicitur 'domine' et apostrofa fit ad dominum, nihil nocet sensui, si ponatur et 'tu.' In eodem: *et in malitia corum disperdet eos* (Ps. XCIII. 23). In Graeco dicitis non esse praepositionem 'in,' sed legi: *malitiam eorum disperdet*. Sciendum autem, quod et in Hebraeo et in cunctis interpretibus positum sit: *in malitia corum disperdet eos*. Si autem uoluerimus legere: *malitiam eorum disperdet*, id, quod in Septuaginta sequitur in fine uersiculi 'eos,' et superfluum erit et uitiosum."

This is of a piece with the preceding discussion. *Mali-*

[101] *Op. cit.*

tiam eorum is in the *Antiqua* and, no doubt, was in a text of the Mozarabic Psalter, even as some texts of the Septuagint have τὴν ἀνομίαν for κατὰ τὴν ἀνομίαν.

"61. Nonagesimo septimo: *recordatus est misericordiae suae* (Ps. XCVII. 3). Pro quo in Graeco inuenisse uos dicitis: *misericordiae suae Iacob;* sed hic 'Iacob' nomen superfluum est."

Jacob is in the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters.

"62. Centesimo: *oculi mei ad fideles terrae, ut sederent mecum* (Ps. C. 6). Pro quo in Graeco inuenisse uos dicitis: τοῦ συγκαθῆσθαι αὐτοὺς μετ' ἐμοῦ. Quis non talem fugiat interpretationem, ut uerbum ad uerbum exprimens dicat: 'ut consederent ipsi mecum?' "

Considerent is in St. Augustine.

"63. Centesimo primo: *uigilaui et factus sum sicut passer solitarius in tecto* (Ps. CI. 8). Et dicitis uos in Graeco inuenisse ἐπὶ δώματι, quod antiqui codices Latinorum interpretati sunt *in aedificio.* δῶμα in orientalibus prouinciis ipsum dicitur, quod apud nos 'tectum;' in Palaestina enim et Aegypto, ubi uel scripti sunt diuini libri uel interpretati, non habent in tectis culmina, sed δώματα, quae Romae uel solaria uel Maeniana uocant, id est plana tecta, quae transuersis trabibus sustentantur. Denique et Petrus in Actibus apostolorum, quando ascendit in δῶμα, in tectum aedificii ascendisse credendus est et, quando praecipitur nobis, ut faciamus δώματι nostro coronam, hoc praecipitur, ut in tecto faciamus per circuitum quasdam eminentias, ne facilis in praeceps lapsus sit. Et in euangelio: *quae,* inquit, *auditis in aure, dicite super* δώματα, id est super tecta (Matth. X. 27). Et in Esaia: *quid uobis est, quod omnes ascendistis in tecta uana?* (Esai.

XXII. 1). Et multa istius modi. In eodem: *factus sum sicut* νυκτικόραξ *in domicilio* (Ps. CI. 7). Quod similiter habetur in Graeco; et quaeritis, quid significet νυκτικόραξ apud Latinos. In Hebraeo pro nycticorace uerbum 'bos' scriptum est, quod Aquila et Septuaginta et Theodotio et quinta editio 'nycticoracem' interpretati sunt, Symmachus 'upupam,' sexta editio 'noctuam,' quod et nos magis sequimur. Denique, ubi apud nostros et Graecos legitur: *factus sum sicut* νυκτικόραξ *in domicilio,* apud Hebraeos dicitur: *factus sum sicut noctua in ruinosis.* Plerique 'bubonem' contentiose significari putant. In eodem: *a facie irae et indignationis tuae* (Ps. CI. 11). Pro quo in Graeco inuenisse uos dicitis: *a facie irae tuae,* cum manifestissimum sit, quod et apud Hebraeos et apud septuaginta interpretes sic habet: ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς ὀργῆς σου καὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ σου. In eodem: *quoniam placuerunt seruis tuis lapides eius et terrae eius miserebuntur* (Ps. CI. 15). Pro terra in Hebraeo 'afar' positum est, quod omnes χοῦν transtulerunt; et potest tam 'puluis' quam 'humus,' id est 'terra,' interpretari."

In verse 8 *in aedificio* is found in the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters. The Goths ask why Jerome translates ἐπὶ δώματι by *in tecto,* whereas the old Latin codices have *in aedificio.* Jerome is supposed to show that *tectum* is the proper translation of δῶμα, but he makes an impossible statement, that δώματα is the same as *maeniana,* a statement which could not under any circumstances have proceeded from him.

Δῶμα is, indeed, "a flat roof," but *maenianum* is "a balcony," and δῶμα was never identical with *maenianum.* The latter was known in Greek as ἐξώστης, which in 423

was subjected to strict building laws.[102] Jerome frequently uses *doma,* which he correctly translates by *tectum,*[103] and Bede quoted his definition of *doma* from Jerome.[104] The latter, too, knew that *maenianum* and ἐξώστης or ἐξώστρης were the same.[105] He uses the word *solarium* for both "roof" and "balcony," which is correct, because it simply means "a sunning place;" but in the first case he says "*solarium tecti,* the sunning place of the roof," in the second, "*solaria* de coenaculorum parietibus eminentia, the sunning places which protrude from the walls of the upper chamber or from the upper part of the house." This definition and the statement that ἐκθέται refers to the *Roman solarium* stamp the passage from Jerome as absolutely genuine, for even later, in 531, these bay windows, for that is meant by *solaria,* are distinctly known in law as "Roman."[106] Besides, Jerome, in the case of δῶμα, says that Peter, to reach the δῶμα had to walk a story higher than the coenaculum, "transcendit coenaculum, et venit ad tectum," whereas, in the case of *maeniana,* he not only

102 "*Maeniana,* quae Graece *ἐξώστας* appellant, siue olim constructa siue in posterum in prouinciis construenda, nisi spatium inter se per decem pedes liberi aeris habuerint, modis omnibus detruncentur," *Codex Justinianus,* VIII. 10, 11.

103 "Transcendit coenaculum, et venit ad *tectum,* quod significantius Graece *δῶμα* dicitur, id est, tecti *solarium,*" *Comment. in Ezechielem,* XLI, in Migne, vol. XXV, col. 399.

104 "*Doma* et excelsus et secretus est locus. Quod enim *doma* Graece, Latine dicitur *tectum,*" *Super Parabolas Salomonis Allegorica Expositio,* cap. XXV, in Migne, vol. XCI, col. 1014.

105 "'Εκθέτας autem Romae appellant *solaria* de coenaculorum parietibus eminentia, sive *Meniana* ab eo qui ea primus invenit, quae nonnulli Graecorum *ἐξώστρας* vocant," *Comment. in Ezechielem,* cap. XLI, in Migne, vol. XXV, col. 403.

106 "'Ετι δὲ θεσπίζομεν τὰ καλούμενα σωλάρια μετὰ τὸν παρόντα νόμον μὴ ἐκ μόνων ξύλων τὲ καὶ σανίδων γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῷ τῶν λεγομένων ῥωμανισίων οἰκοδομεῖσθαι σχήματι, δέκα δὲ ποδῶν, εἶναι διάστημα μεταξὺ δύο σωλαρίων ἀντικρὺ ὄντων ἀλλήλων." *Codex Justinianus,* VIII. 10. 12.

speaks of them as "de coenaculorum parietibus eminentia," but also identifies them with the ἐξώστατι, of v. 15, which in the Vulgate is translated by *angulus*. The passage in the Bible makes it clear that this *angulus* is in the upper part of the building, and not on the roof.

Isidore definitely says that *maeniana*, built of wood or stone, projected from the buildings, and he identifies them with *solaria*, because they were open to the sun and air.[107] In another place he correctly states that the Greeks called *tecta* δώματα.[108] So far not a single author identifies δώματα with *maeniana*.

In the ancient Latin-Arabic glossary,[109] which is almost entirely based on Isidore and contains all the Arabic glosses found in *Codex Toletanus* 15, 8, there are a few lemmata which owe their origin to a period after Isidore, hence must have been excerpted after 733, when the *Codex Toletanus* 15, 8 was written. Here we find:

domatum moenia superioribus domus
doma grece tectum latine domata enim pluralis moenia uel superiores domus.

One can easily see how these lemmata arose. The first is simply two glosses to the Greek version of *Deuteronomy* XXII. 8:

domatum moenia superioribus domus
ποιήσεις στεφάνην τῷ δώματί σου.

The ancient Latin version before Jerome had written "facies coronam solario tuo," which is a very close rendering

107 "Moenius collega Crassi in foro proiecit materias, ut essent loca in quibus spectantes insisterent, quae ex nomine eius *Moeniana* appellata sunt. Haec et *solaria*, quia patent soli. Post haec alii lapide, alii materia aedificavere porticibus *moeniana*, et foribus et domibus adiecerunt.... *Solarium*, quod soli et auris pateat," XV. 3. 11-12.

108 "Domus ex Graeca appellatione vocata; nam δώματα Graeci *tecta* dicunt," XV. 3. 1.

109 Ch. F. Seybold, *Glossarium latino-arabicum*, Berolini 1900.

of the Greek, but Jerome wrote, "facies murum tecti per circuitum," which is not as good as his version in his *Dialogus adversus Pelagianos,* "facies loriculam tecto tuo in circuitu." [110] In the latter case, στεφάνην is rendered by "loriculam in circuitu, a protection all around," while in the Vulgate it is given by "murum in circuitu, a wall all around." Δῶμα is in both cases translated by "tectum," while the older version has similarly "solarium" for it. But the later commentator, who, being a Spanish Goth, wanted to follow the Greek text more closely, mistook "murum tecti" of the Vulgate for the rendering of στεφάνην, and so wrote "domatum moenia," that is, "the walls of the roof," just as in the Vulgate. Over the dative τῷ δώματι he similarly wrote the dative "superioribus domus," He was misled by the resemblance of *moenia* and *moeniana* to call the δῶμα, the roof, "the upper part of the house," which is not exact; but he did not understand under *moenia* anything else but "walls."

A second Latin-Arabic glossator mistook "moenia superioribus domus" as a gloss to "domatum," so he hastened to explain the grammatical forms *doma, domata,* and incorrectly identified *doma* with "walls or upper parts of a house." The mediaeval glossators copied the second Spanish gloss without a change, [111] and it can be shown that this did not take place before the end of the eighth century, if as early as that. The Anglo-Saxon *Leyden Glosses* still correctly identify *doma* with "a flat roof or open porch, [112] while the *Corpus Glosses* write "*domatio* quae moenia

110 Migne, vol. XXIII, col. 531.

111 "*Domata* moenia vel superiores domus," *Corpus glossary,* IV. 58, 230, V. 287, 409.

112 "In *domate* suo, in solario suo; *domatibus* porticibus uel atriis que non tegent; *domatis,* domus sine tecto uel spinarum," Hessels, *op. cit.,* p. 98 f.

latini dicunt," and "moenia superior domus," which are identical with the Latin glosses.

If we now once more turn to Jerome, we find in his commentary to Daniel VI. 6:[113] "*Quod cum Daniel comperisset, id est, constitutam legem, ingressus est domum suam, et, fenestris apertis in coenaculo suo contra Jerusalem, tribus temporibus in die flectebat genua sua, et adorabat: confitebaturque coram Deo suo sicut ante facere consueverat.* De omni Scriptura sancta celeri memoria congregandum est, ubi δώματα, quae Latine dicuntur *menia* vel *tecta,* sive *solaria,* et ἀνώγαια, id est, *coenacula* legerimus. Nam et Dominus noster Pascha celebrat in coenaculo: et in Actibus Apostolorum super centum viginti animas credentium Spiritus sanctus descendit in coenaculum. Et nunc Daniel regis jussa contemnens, et in Deo habens fiduciam, non orat in humili loco, sed in excelso: et fenestras aperit contra Jerusalem, ubi erat visio pacis. Orat autem secundum praeceptum Dei, Dictaque Salomonis, qui contra templum orandum esse admonuit. Tria autem sunt tempora quibus Deo flectenda sunt genua: tertiam horam, sextam et nonam ecclesiastica traditio intelligit. Denique tertia hora descendit Spiritus sanctus super Apostolos. Sexta volens Petrus comedere, ad orationem ascendit in coenaculum. Nona, Petrus et Joannes pergebant ad templum."

The comment is either not at all Jerome's or badly interpolated. Ἀνώγαιον occurs only in one of the passages quoted, and in the lemma from Daniel neither ἀνώγαιον nor δῶμα is used, but οἶκος or ὑπερῷον. Jerome apparently did not use the Greek words in this passage. This is borne out by his equation of δώματα and "menia, vel tecta, sive solaria," which neither Bede, nor Isidore know anything about, and which, as we have seen, is due

[113] Migne, vol. XXV, col. 524.

to a misunderstanding of the glossed passage in Deuteronomy. Indeed, with all his careless work, Jerome would hardly have said he would try to think in an offhand manner of the passages where *coenaculum* occurred. It is even doubtful whether the whole discussion is by Jerome, for in his translation of the Acts he says "ascendit Petrus in *superiora*," and in his commentary to chapter XXV of Proverbs Bede not only identifies δῶμα with *tectum*, but says that *superiora* in Acts means "the highest pinnacle." [114]

The passage in the Letter to Sunnia and Fretela is far more correct as regards the quotations from Jerome. Here we are correctly told that Peter went up to the roof and not to the *coenaculum*. Jerome is asked why he translates δῶμα by *tectum*, whereas the old Latin translation has *aedificio*. All of a sudden the Goths are shown to be interested in the Itala as well as the Greek text, and this time Jerome is made a stickler for a precise translation from the Greek, although he has emphasized the fact that the meaning and not precise translation is to be sought.

But if Jerome is so particular and absolutely correct about the use of *tectum* for δῶμα why does he contradict his own careful distinction in Ezechiel XLI? There he made it clear that *maeniana* and *tecta*, ἐξώσται and δώματα, were quite distinct, and here, where he correctly quotes every case of δώματα in the Bible, and omits every case of ἐξώσται or ἀνώγαια, he is made to confuse the two. And if he did confuse them, why do the other authors, including Isidore, avoid that confusion and correctly distinguish between δῶμα and *maeniana?* It is clear that the forger, in excerpting Jerome, indiscriminately put all *superiora*

114 "In Actibus Apostolorum, ubi Petrus in *superiora* ad orandum ascendit, pro superioribus, in Graeco δῶμα scriptum est. Melius est ergo in altitudine virtutum manere quempiam liberum a vinculis uxoriis," Migne, vol. XCI, col. 1014.

and *coenacula* into one class—a natural mistake to make, since these two terms are general and not specific, and refer either to the upper story or to the roof. The uniformity in using *moenia* as an equivalent for δῶμα in the eighth century glossaries, and not *maeniana*, shows that they all proceeded from the same Spanish source, and that the compiler of the Letter to Sunnia and Fretela, who knew Isidore's definition of *maeniana*, made the corresponding change, even beyond the statement in the Commentary to Daniel, if that was known to him, which is extremely doubtful.

In verse 7 everything referring to Jerome is false. In his *Tractatus de Psalmo CI* he leaves the word untranslated, following the example of the preceding translations and of his own two Psalters, but distinctly explains *nycticorax* as a "night raven. [115] In his translation of the Psalter from the Hebrew he writes, "factus sum quasi *bubo* solitudinum," even as he translates νυκτικόραξ of Leviticus XI. 17 by *bubo*. [116] In Leviticus XI. 16 he writes *noctua* for the Gr. γλαῦξ. [117] Precisely the same distinction is made by him in Deuteronomy XIV. 16, where we have *nycticorax* for Gr. νυκτικόραξ, and in Deuteronomy XIV. 15, where he again translates γλαῦξ by *noctua*. Thus it is an impossibility for him to have said that he generally followed *noctuam* of the Sixth Edition, and that they were in the wrong who translated νυκτικόραξ by *bubo*. The ancients did not for a moment connect *noctua* with νυκτικόραξ. St. Augustine etymologized *nycticorax* as "amans noc-

115 "*Factus sum sicut nycticorax in domicilio.* Scimus quia corvus niger est, et nihil habet in se album. Hyberbolice voluit dicere, quod factus sum sicut nycticorax. Si ergo in die niger est, quanto magis in nocte? Sic ergo factus sum propter peccata mea memetipsum considerans," *Anecdota Maredsolana*, vol. III, pars II, p. 159.

116 Migne, vol. XXVIII, col. 312.

117 *Ibid.*

tem,"[118] and Gregory the Great knew only of the equivalent *bubo* for *nycticorax*.[119] It was apparently Isidore who was the first to make the mistake, by misunderstanding St. Augustine's etymology: "*nycticorax* ipsa est noctua, quia noctem amat" (XII. 7. 41). After that the identification is common, for we find it in Hrabanus Maurus[120] and elsewhere. Another blunder the forger committed in connection with *nycticorax* is in stating that the Hebrew word for *nycticorax* was *bos*, whereas it should be *cos*, but this may be an error of the copyists. In his translation from the Hebrew he writes *quasi bubo solitudinum*, yet in the Letter he says that in Hebrew he wrote *sicut noctua in ruinosis*.

In verse 11 *irae tuae* is in the Mozarabic Psalter, and some Septuagint texts have τῆς ὀργῆς σου. It is not clear what the discussion in verse 15 stands for, but *pulvis* is used by St. Augustine and *Mediol.* and also in Jerome's translation from the Hebrew.

> "64. Centesimo secundo: *non in perpetuo irascetur* (Ps. CII. 9). Pro quo in Graeco inuenisse uos dicitis: *non in finem*. Sed uerbum Hebraicum 'nese' et 'perpetuum' et 'finis' et 'uictoria' pro locorum intellegitur qualitate."

Perpetuum is in the Gallican Psalter, *finem*, in the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters.

> "65. Centesimo tertio: *qui facis angelos tuos spiritus* (Ps. CIII. 4). Pro quo in Graeco inuenisse uos dicitis: ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ, id est: *qui facit angelos suos*. A quibus breuiter quae-

118 *Enarratio in Psalmum CI*, in Migne, vol. XXXVII, col. 1298.

119 "Nycticorax, qui alio nomine *bubo* dicitur," *In septem Psalmos Poenitentiales Expositio, ibid.*, vol. LXXIX, col. 608.

120 "*Nycticorax* Graeco vocabulo dicitur noctis corvus, quem quidam bubonem, quidam noctuam esse dixerunt," *De universo, ibid.*, vol. CXI, col. 251.

rite, quomodo, cum ad deum sermo sit, quasi ad alium loquens propheta repente mutetur, maxime cum sic incipiat: *domine, deus meus, magnificatus es uehementer; confessionem et decorem induisti* (Ps. CIII. 1), et: *qui tegis in aquis superiora eius*—id est caeli—, *qui ponis nubem ascensum tuum, qui ambulas super pennas uentorum* (Ps. CIII. 3). Et statim sequitur: *qui facis angelos tuos spiritus et ministros tuos ignem urentem. Qui fundasti terram super stabilitatem suam* (Ps. CIII. 4-5). Et post paululum: *ab increpatione tua fugient, a uoce tonitrui tui formidabunt* (Ps. CIII. 7). Et: *in loco, quem fundasti eis. Qui emittis fontes in conuallibus* (Ps. CIII. 8). Et illud: *ut educas panem de terra* (Ps. CIII. 14). Si ergo omnia ad secundam personam sunt, id est ad deum, quomodo in uno uersiculo tertia persona subito et extra ordinem introducitur? In eodem: *a uoce tonitrui tui formidabunt* (Ps. CIII. 7). Habet et in Hebraeo *tonitrui tui;* et miror, quomodo apud Latinos scriptorum errore subtractum sit. In eodem: *hoc mare magnum et spatiosum manibus* (Ps. CIII. 25). Dicitis in Graeco 'manibus' non haberi. Et ego noui, sed ex Hebraico et de Theodotionis editione in Septuaginta sub asterisco additum est. Denique et in Hebraeo ita scriptum est: 'ze haiam gadol uarab idaim,' quod Aquila sic interpretatus est: αὐλὴ καὶ πλατεῖα χερσὶν et omnes interpretes: αὕτη ἡ θάλασσα ἡ μεγάλη καὶ εὐρύχωρος χερσίν. Et hoc secundum Hebraicam dicitur proprietatem μεταφορικῶς, quod quasi expansas manus habeat et in se cuncta suscipiat. In eodem: *ut educas panem de terra* (Ps. CIII. 14). Pro quo inuenisse uos dicitis: *ut educat;* sed non potest aliud ad ipsum, aliud

de ipso dici. Aut omnia quasi ad deum loquebatur propheta aut omnia ad alium de eo referebat. Cum autem pleraque ad ipsum dirigantur, et ea, quae ambigua sunt, ad ipsius personam dirigenda sunt. In eodem: *herodii domus dux est eorum* (Ps. CIII. 17). Pro herodio, quod in Hebraeo dicitur 'asida,' Symmachus ἰκτῖνα, id est 'miluum,' interpretatus est. Denique et nos ita uertimus in Latinum: *ibi aues nidificabunt; milui abies domus est,* quod scilicet semper in excelsis et arduis arboribus nidos facere consueuerit. Unde et sexta editio manifestius interpretata est: *miluo cupressi ad nidificandum.* Pro abietibus autem et cupressis in Hebraeo ponitur 'barusim,' quod magis abietes quam κυπαρίσσους significat. In eodem: *petra refugium erinaciis* (Ps. CIII. 18). Pro quo in Hebraeo positum est 'sphannim' et omnes τοῖς χοιρογρυλλίοις uoce simili transtulerunt exceptis Septuaginta, qui 'lepores' interpretati sunt. Sciendum autem animal esse non maius ericio, habens similitudinem muris et ursi, unde et in Palaestina ἀρκόμυς dicitur. Et magna est in istis regionibus huius generis abundantia semperque in cauernis petrarum et terrae foueis habitare consuerunt."

The whole discussion of verse 4 is absurd, because *facit angelos suos* is in the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters, also in a number of quotations,[121] even though he writes *facis angelos tuos* in the Gallican Psalter and in *Tractatus de Psalmo CIII.* Similarly verse 3 has *ambu-*

121 *Liber contra Joannem Hierosolymitanum*, 15, in Migne, vol. XXIII, col. 367, *Comment. in Isaiam*, VI. 2, ibid., vol. XXIV, col. 94, LXIII. 11 seqq., *ibid.*, col. 617, *Comment. in Ezechielem*, XXVIII. 11 seqq., *ibid.*, vol. XXV, col. 272, *Comment. in Danielem*, VII. 10, *ibid.*, col. 532.

lat in the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters and in quotations.[122] So, too, in verses 4 and 5 we have *suos* and *ejus* and in verse 14 *educat* in the Roman and Gallican Psalters. In verse 25 *manibus* is omitted in the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters, in the *Commentarioli* and in most quotations,[123] and yet Jerome is made to plead for the "Hebraica veritas." The discussion in verse 17 shows clearly that the forger is not trying to bring back the "Hebraica veritas," but the Gallican Psalter, for, while the first reads *milvo abies domus ejus*, the lemma in the Gallican Psalter is *herodii domus dux eorum*. Indeed, the discussion is contrary to that in the *Tractatus de Psalmo CIII*, where we have "erodion volatile est nimiae magnitudinis: dicitur autem vincere et aquilam, et ipsam habere escam; et non est sicut alia volatilia, quae habent constitutos nidos, et ad vesperam vadunt ad sua loca; sed hoc ubicumque conprehenderint illum tenebrae, ibi dormit."

The discussion of verse 18 shows that the forger was better acquainted with the zoology of the Middle Ages than with that of the fourth century. The lemma is that of the Gallican and Roman Psalters, while *ericiis* is used in the translation from the Hebrew. In the *Tractatus de Psalmo CIII* we have the explanation for *herinaceus* "qui timidus est," while in his Commentary to Matthew VII. 25, he gives the alternative lemma, *petra refugium leporibus*, as in the Septuagint, and *sive herinaciis*, as in his own writings, and explains the word as follows: "timidum enim animal in petrae cavernas se recipit: et cutis aspera,

122 *Comment. in Isaiam*, VI. 2, *ibid.*, vol. XXIV, col. 94, LXVI. 15, 16, *ibid.*, col. 664.

123 *Comment. in Isaiam*, XXVII. 1, in Migne, vol. XXIV, col. 306, *Comment. in Naum*, I. 4, ibid., vol. XXV, col. 1235, *Comment. in Abacuc*, III. 8, 9, *ibid.*, col. 1318. But it occurs in *Comment. in Zachariam*, X. 11, 12, *ibid.*, col. 1497.

et tota armata jaculis, tali se protectione tutatur."[124] It is clear, therefore, that he thought of the animal either as a rabbit, if the Septuagint translation be followed, or a hedgehog, if the *Antiqua* meaning is used. In his Commentary to Isaiah II. 10[125] he writes *leporibus,* while in XXIII. 8, 9[126] he writes *hcrinaciis sive leporibus,* so that he everywhere leaves the question open. Hrabanus Maurus has collected all the previous statements about *hericius* and *herinacius,* which show all the information accessible from the ecclesiastical writers.[127] Here the story of the hedgehog and the grape is originally from the Physiologus, but quoted verbatim from Isidore, XII. 4, 7. The allegorical comparison is an amplification of Bede's comment to this verse.[128] Then follows a paraphrase of Jerome's comment

124 Migne, vol. XXVI, col. 50.

125 *Ibid.*, vol. XXIV, col. 50.

126 *Ibid.*, col. 277.

127 "Hericius animal spinis coopertum, quod exinde dicitur nominatum eo quod subrigit se quando spinis suis clauditur, quibus undique protectus est contra insidias. Nam statim, ut aliquid praesenserit, primum se subrigit, atque in globum conversus, in sua se arma recolligit. Hujus prudentia quaedam est. Nam dum absciderit uvam de vite, supinus sese volutat super eam, et sic eam exhibet natis suis. Hericius enim mystice peccatores aculeis vitiorum plenos et astutia nequitiae callentes significat, et fraudibus et rapinis: qui per fraudem de alienis laboribus sibi pastum quaerunt. De quibus scriptum est: *Ibi habet foveam Hericius, et catulos suos nutrit* (Isa. XXXIV). Item illud, quod in psalmo scriptum est: *Petra refugium Herinaciis* (Ps. CIII). Herinacius idem est, qui et Hericius, animal omnino timidum, natura providente semper armatum, cujus cutem invicem setarum sudes acutissimae densissimaeque communiunt. Cui tamen non sufficit nativa munitio, scilicet ne aliqua fraude possit intercipi, refugium habet semper in saxis. Huic competenter aptatur, qui peccatis suis hispidus, futura judicia metuens, petram Christum firmissimum noscitur refugium habere," in Migne, vol. CXI, col. 227.

128 "Herinacius, id est, spinis peccatorum involutis et desperatissimis est refugium," *ibid.*, vol. XCIII, col. 1009.

to Matth. VIII. 25, followed by a new paraphrase from Bede.

When we turn to the Letter we get the impossible statement that the *herinaceus* is not larger than the *hericius* and resembles a bear and a mouse, hence in Palestine is called ἀρκόμυς. Jerome might have said that the animal acted like a bear and looked like a mouse, but the attempt to justify the formation ἀρκόμυς is distinctly the characteristic of later etymologists. Jerome unquestionably confused the animal with a hedgehog or porcupine, and so did all the later writers, whereas the forger knew that the Hebrew *sphannim* referred to the animal known by the Arabs as *wabr* and to zoology as *hyrax syriacus,*[129] a timid animal, indeed, but totally lacking quills and unable to protect itself against an enemy. We have already seen that the criticism of Psalm CIII is based on some Spanish source, as evidenced in the discussion of δῶμα. Now this gloss of the *erinaceus* shows incontestably Spanish influence, for it is only in Spain that *cirogrillus,* from Gr. χοιρογρύλλιος, has the meaning of *coney,*[130] that is, an animal quite different from a hedgehog, and in appearance far more closely resembling the Syrian hyrax. The *Glossarium latino-arabicum* has *cuniculus, caniculus* and *cirogrillus* all glossed with ثلب *qunalyah,* while *cuniculus* has also *safan,* which is the Hebrew term for the hyrax.

It can now be shown how the word ἀρκόμυς arose in Spain from a misreading and misunderstanding of a gloss in Jerome. In his *Onomastica sacra*[131] he glosses "*safan* labium uel lepus aut ericius,"[132] "*safan* chirogryllius lepus uel ericius,"[133] "*safan* ericius uel lepus sive labium

129 See Kitto's *Encyclopedia of Biblical Science*, sub *shaphan.*
130 See Ducange, sub *chirogrillus.*
131 P. de Lagarde, Göttingae 1887.
132 *Ibid.*, p. 49.
133 *Ibid.*, p. 87.

eius."[134] Jerome's Hebrew was decidedly faulty and here he confused Heb. שָׂפָם *sāfām* "mustache" with שָׁפָן *šāfān* "hyrax." This is proved conclusively from the gloss "*safan* labium siue barba superioris labii, quam Graeci μύσταχα uocant."[135] This Gr. μύσταχα is also recorded *aysθaka, mystka, mrstuic.* A later glossator obviously thought that *labium* was itself an animal, just like *ericius* and *lepus,* and read μύσταχα as μύσαρκτος; hence the forger ventured on the zoological etymology or etymological zoology that the animal resembled a mouse and a bear, and changed the order to ἀρκόμυς, a word which is not recorded anywhere in Greek or Latin, except as quotations from the Letter to the Goths.

> "66. Centesimo quarto: *dedit terra eorum ranas* (Ps. CIV. 30). Pro quo in Graeco ἐξῆρψεν uos legisse dixistis. Quod potest ita interpretari: 'ebulliuit terra eorum ranas'; sed et in hoc nulla est in sensu mutatio et nos antiquam interpretationem sequentes, quod non nocebat, mutare noluimus. In eodem: *et contriuit lignum finium eorum* (Ps. CIV. 33). Pro quo in Graeco inuenisse uos dicitis *omne lignus.* Sed et hoc additum est et superfluum. In eodem: *quoniam memor fuit uerbi sancti sui, quod habuit ad Abraham, puerum suum* (Ps. CIV. 42). Pro quo in Graeco legisse uos dicitis ὃν διέθετο, id est: *quod disposuit.* Ita enim et in Hebraeo et apud septuaginta habetur interpretes: ὅτι ἐμνήσθη τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἁγίου αὐτοῦ, τοῦ πρὸς Ἀβραὰμ τὸν δοῦλον αὐτοῦ. Ergo, quod in Graeco dicitur ὃν διέθετο, in hoc loco et superfluum est et radendum."

In verse 10 the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters have

134 *Ibid.*, p. 91.

135 *Ibid.*, p. 49.

misit terra. The Gallican Psalter has *edidit,* while *et dedit* occurs in the *Antiqua.* In verse 33 *omne* is in the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters. In verse 42 Jerome is made to disavow *quod habuit* of the Gallican Psalter and *quod locutus est* of the Roman Psalter. Here he rejects the "Hebraica veritas," although for some reason he omitted the words from the translation from the Hebrew.

> "67. Centesimo quinto: *confitemini domino, quoniam bonus* (Ps. CV. 1). Pro quo in Graeco legisse uos dicitis: *quoniam* χρηστὸς, id est *suauis.* Sed sciendum, quod χρηστὸς et in 'bonum' et in 'suaue' uerti potest. Denique et in Hebraeo ita scriptum est: 'chi tob', quod omnes uoce simili transtulerunt: *quia bonus.* Ex quo perspicuum est, quod et χρηστὸς 'bonus' intellegatur. In eodem: *non fuerunt memores multitudinis misericordiae tuae* (Ps. CV. 7). Dicitis, quod in Graeco inueneritis: *et non fuerunt memores.* 'Et' coniunctio superflua est. In eodem: *et inritaucrunt ascendentes in mare, Mare Rubrum* (Ps. CV. 7). Pro quo in Graeco inuenisse uos dicitis: καὶ παρεπίκραναν et putatis uerbum e uerbo debere transferri: 'et amaricauerunt,' Sed et haec interpretatio 'adnullationi' consimilis est siue 'adnihilationi'. Legite Ezechiel et inuenietis παραπικρασμὸς 'inritationem et exacerbationem' semper expressum, ubi dicitur: οἶκος παραπικραίνων, id est *domus exasperans.* In eodem: *et uidit, cum tribularentur, et audiuit orationem eorum* (Ps. CV. 44). Quidquid extra hoc in Graeco inuenisse uos dixistis, superfluum est."

In verse 1 the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters have *suavis.* In verse 7 *et* is in the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters. Of *amaricaverunt* St. Augustine says "expres-

sius de Graeco est."[136] The addition to verse 44 is in the *Antiqua.*

> "68. Centesimo sexto: *et statuit procellam eius in aurum et siluerunt fluctus eius* (Ps. CVI. 29). Hoc ergo, quod pro isto in Graeco inuenisse uos dicitis: καὶ ἐπετίμησεν τῇ καταιγίδι αὐτῆς καὶ ἔστη εἰς αὔραν, superfluum est. In eodem: *et deduxit eos in portum uoluntatis eorum* (Ps. CVI. 30). Pro quo inuenisse uos dicitis: *in portum uoluntatis suae.* Sed in Hebraeo non habet 'ephsau,' quod 'uoluntatis suae' significat, sed 'ephsam,' quod 'uoluntatis eorum' sonat."

In verse 29 St. Augustine has *imperavit procellae et stetit in auram.* In verse 30 *Moz.* has *suae.*

> "69. Centesimo septimo: *exurge, gloria mea* (Ps. CVII. 3). Quod dicitis in Latino non esse, recte in isto psalmo non habet, quia nec apud Hebraeos nec apud ullum interpretum repperitur, sed habetur in quinquagesimo sexto psalmo, de quo mihi uidetur a quodam in istum locum esse translatum. In eodem: *mihi alienigenae amici facti sunt* (Ps. CVII. 10). Pro quo in Graeco inuenisse uos dicitis ὑπετάγησαν, hoc est 'subditi sunt'. Sed hoc in quinquagesimo nono psalmo scriptum est; in praesenti autem ita apud omnes inuenimus translatores: ἐμοὶ ἀλλόφυλοι ἐφιλίασαν, id est *amici facti sunt,* quod Hebraice dicitur 'ethrohe'."

Here the Goths apparently are supposed to complain because Jerome omits *exurge, gloria mea,* which is found in many Greek texts, as in Eusebius, " ἐξεγέρθητι, ἡ δόξα μου," and also in Latin texts, as in Cassiodorus. The statements that the passage is in Psalm LVI and that ὑπετάγησαν is in Psalm LIX are based on an ill-digested

[136] Migne, vol. XXII, col. 862.

borrowing from St. Augustine: "Psalmum centesimum septimum exponendum non putavi; quoniam jam exposui eum in psalmo quinquagesimo sexto, et in psalmo quinquagesimo nono, ex quorum postremis partibus iste constat..... Quaecumque igitur in hoc psalmo centesimo septimo aliquantulum aliter posita sunt, quam in illis duobus, ex quorum partibus constat, non habent intellectum difficilem: sicut in quinquagesimo sexto dicitur, *Cantabo, et psallam; exsurge, gloria mea;* in isto autem, *Cantabo, et psallam in gloria mea.* Ad hoc enim dictum est illic, *Exsurge,* ut in illa cantaretur et psalleretur."[137] Besides, Jerome is made to misquote himself and to misstate the fact, when he says that ἐμοὶ ἀλλόφυλοι ἐφιλίασαν was by all translators given as "amici facti sunt." In his Roman Psalter he wrote, just as in verse LIX. 10, "mihi allophyli *subditi sunt.*" In all extant translations we have *subditi sunt.* Only one manuscript, according to Sabatier, has ἐφιλίασαν, which would justify Jerome's version. Again, he did not stick to his translation, "mihi amici facti sunt," in his version from the Hebrew, but there wrote, "cum Philistim foederabor" or "mihi Palaestina foederabitur."

> "70. Centesimo nono: *uirgam uirtutis tuae emittet dominus ex Sion* (Ps. CIX. 2). Dicitis uos in Graecis codicibus non legisse 'uirtutis tuae," quod manifeste et in Hebraeo et in septuaginta interpretibus habet. In eodem: *dominare in medio inimicorum tuorum* (Ps. CIX. 2). Dicitis in Graeco legi: *et dominare.* Sed hoc nec in Hebraeo habetur nec apud Septuaginta et superfluum est."

Sabatier says that *Moz.* does not have *tuae. Et dominare* is in St. Augustine and elsewhere.

> "71. Centesimo decimo: *confitebor tibi, domi-*

[137] Migne, vol. XXXVII, col. 1430.

> *ne, in toto corde.* In Graeco inuenisse uos dicitis: *in toto corde meo.* Sed et hoc hic superfluum est."

Meo is in the Gallican, Roman and Mozarabic Psalters, and in *Tractatus de Psalmo CX.*

> "72. Centesimo tertio decimo: *deus autem noster in caelo* (Ps. CXIII. 11). Pro quo in Graeco legisse uos dicitis: *in caelo et in terra.* Sed et hoc superfluum est."

What Jerome says is superfluous is in St. Augustine, *Moz.* and a large number of other texts. It is also in the Roman Psalter.

> "73. Centesimo quarto decimo: *et in diebus meis inuocabo te* (Ps. CXIV. 2). Dicitis, quod in Graeco non sit 'te', et bene; e uestris quoque codicibus eradendum est. In ipso: *placebo domino in regione uiuorum* (Ps. CXIV. 9). Pro quo in Graeco legisse uos dicitis: *placebo in conspectu domini.* Sed hoc superfluum est."

Here we get an excellent illustration of eighth or ninth century text criticism: *te* is omitted in the Gallican Psalter, but somehow got into late texts. The *Utrecht Psalter* had the *te*, but scratched it out, as may be easily detected in the photographic reproduction. In verse 9 *in conspectu Domini* is in St. Augustine, and, what is worse, Jerome writes in the *Tractatus de Psalmo CXV, placebo coram Domini* in the lemma and *placebo Domino* in the discussion.

> "74. Centesimo septimo decimo: *et in nomine domini, quia ultus sum in eos* (Ps. CXVII. 10). Dicitis 'quia' in Graecis codicibus non inueniri; sed et in Latinis sub asterisco legendum est."

Quia is omitted in the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters.

> "75. Centesimo octauo decimo: *et meditabar in mandatis tuis, quae dilexi* (Ps. CXVIII. 47).

In Graeco *uehementer* additum legisse uos dicitis: sed hoc superfluum est. In eodem: *leuaui manus meas ad mandata tua, quae dilexi* (Ps. CXVIII. 48). In Graeco legisse uos dicitis: *ad mandata tua, (quae dilexi uehementer,)* sed hoc superfluum est. In eodem: *cogitaui uias meas* (Ps. CXVIII. 59). In Graeco (*iuxta*) *uias tuas* legisse uos dicitis, sed hoc superfluum est et rectius 'meas' legitur. In eodem: *et uerti pedes meos in testimonia tua* (Ps. CXVIII. 59). In Graeco legisse uos dicitis: *et auerti.* Sed et hoc superfluum est. In eodem: *ego autem in toto corde scrutabor mandata tua* (Ps. CXVIII. 59). In Graeco *in toto corde meo* legisse uos dicitis: sed hic 'meo' superfluum est. In eodem: *anima mea in manibus meis semper; et legem tuam non sum oblitus* (Ps. CXVIII. 109). Pro quo in Graeco legisse uos dicitis: *anima mea in manibus tuis semper.* Sed sciendum et apud Hebraeos et apud Septuaginta et omnes alios interpretes scriptum esse 'in manibus meis', et non 'in manibus tuis', quod Hebraice dicitur 'bachaffi;' et omnes apud Graecos ecclesiastici interpretes istum locum sic edisserunt et est breuiter hic sensus: 'cottidie periclitor et quasi in manibus meis sanguinem meum porto et tamen legem tuam non obliuiscor'. In eodem: *exitus aquarum deduxerunt oculi mei, quia non custodierunt legem tuam* (Ps. CXVIII. 136). Pro quo in Graeco legisse uos dicitis, *quia non custodiui legem tuam.* Sed hoc superfluum est, quia et in Hebraeo legitur: *riui aquarum fluebant de oculis meis, quia non custodierunt legem tuam.* In eodem: *pronuntiabit lingua mea eloquium tuum* (Ps. CXVIII. 172). Pro 'pronuntiabit' in Graeco φθέγξεται uos legisse

dixistis, quod uerbum, siue dicas 'pronuntiabit' siue 'effabitur' siue 'loquetur,' id ipsum significat. Denique et nos de Hebraeo ita uertimus: *loquetur lingua mea sermonem tuum.*"

In verse 47 *vehementer* is in the Mozarabic Psalter, while the Roman Psalter has *nimis.* In verse 48 *vehementer* is in the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters, and nearly all texts have *valde* or *nimis.* In verse 59 *tuas* is in the Mozarabic Psalter, in the *Antiqua* and in *Carnut. Averti* is in St. Augustine, *Casin.* and the *Palat.* version of the Gallican Psalter. *Meo* of verse 69 is in the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters. *Tuis* of verse 109 is in the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters. In verse 136 St. Augustine and St. Ambrose have *custodivi.*

"76. Centesimo nono decimo: *domine, libera animam meam a labiis iniquis, a lingua dolosa* (Ps. CXIX. 2). In Graeco legisse uos dicitis: *et a lingua dolosa.* 'Et' superfluum est."

The *et* is in the Gallican and Roman Psalters, though it is omitted in the translation from the Hebrew.

"77. Centesimo uicesimo sexto: *beatus uir, qui inplebit desiderium suum ex ipsis* (Ps. CXXVI. 5). In Graeco dicitis 'uir' non haberi, quod manifestissime et in Hebraeo et in septuaginta interpretibus continetur."

Some Greek texts and Prosper omit the word.

"78. Centesimo uicesimo nono: *propter legem tuam sustinui te, domine* (Ps. CXXIX. 4). Dicitis uos in Graeco inuenisse: *propter nomen tuum,* et nos confitemur plura sic exemplaria repperiri. Sed quia ueritati studemus, quid in Hebraeo sit, simpliciter debemus dicere: pro 'nomine' siue 'lege' apud eos legitur 'thira', quod Aquila interpretatus est φόβον hoc est 'timorem', Symmachus et Theodotion νόμον, id est 'legem',

putantes 'thora' propter litterarum similitudinem iod et uau, quae tantum magnitudine distinguntur. Quinta editio 'terrorem' interpretata est, sexta 'uerbum.' "

This is a complete somersault, if the statement makes any sense at all. Heretofore he insisted on the correctness of the Hebrew text; now he proposes to correct the Hebrew *thira* to *thora,* in accordance with Theodotion's version. If the corresponding passage in the *Breviarium in Psalmos* is genuine, Jerome distinctly identifies *lex* with *lex spiritualis.*

"79. Centesimo tricesimo primo: *sicut iurauit domino, uotum uouit deo Iacob* (Ps. CXXXI. 2). Pro eo, quod nos interpretati sumus 'uotum uouit', in Graeco ηὔξατο legisse uos dicitis et putatis interpretari debuisse 'orauit,' sed hoc male; εὐχὴ enim pro locorum qualitate et orationem et uotum significat secundum illud: *redde deo uota tua* (Ps. XLIX. 14), id est τὰς εὐχάς σου."

In XLIX. 14 St. Augustine and other texts have *preces tuas.*

"80. Centesimo tricesimo quinto: *qui fecit luminaria magna* (Ps. CXXXV. 7). Dicitis, quia in Graeco inueneritis: *magna solus;* sed hoc de superiori uersiculo est, ubi legimus; *qui fecit mirabilia magna solus* (Ps. CXXXV. 4). Ibi ergo legendum est et hic quasi superfluum non scribendum."

Not only does *solus* occur in *Moz.* and a large number of texts, but St. Augustine adds: "Sed quid est, *Qui fecit mirabilia magna solus?* An quia multa mirabilia per Angelos et per homines fecit? Sunt quaedam magna quae solus Deus facit, et ipsa exsequitur dicens, *Qui fecit coelos in intellectu, Qui firmavit terram super aquas, Qui fecit luminaria magna solus:* ideo et hic addidit, *solus,* quia

caetera mirabilia quae dicturus est, per homines fecit. Cum enim dixisset, *Qui fecit luminaria magna solus;* quae sint eadem luminaria, secutus aperuit, *Solem in potestatem diei, lunam et stellas in potestatem noctis.* Deinde incipit dicere quae per Angelos vel per homines fecerit: *Qui percussit Aegyptum cum primogenitis eorum;* et caetera. Universam igitur creaturam, non utique Deus per aliquam creaturam, sed solus fecit. Cujus creaturae quasdam partes excellentiores commemoravit, ex quibus universa cogitaremus, intelligibiles coelos et visibilem terram: et quoniam sunt etiam coeli visibiles, commemoratis eorum luminaribus totum coeleste corporeum ut ab ipso factum acciperemus, admonuit." [138]

> "81. Centesimo tricesimo septimo: *quoniam magnificasti super omne nomen sanctum tuum* (Ps. CXXXVII. 2). In Graeco repperisse uos dicitis: *super omnes.* Sed in Septuaginta ita legitur: ὅτι ἐμεγάλυνας ἐπὶ πᾶν τὸ ἅγιόν σου, sicuti et nos in Latinum uertimus. Ceterum apud Hebraeos ita esse cognoscite: *quia magnificasti super omne nomen tuum uerbum tuum.* Iuxta editionem autem Latinam hic sensus est: 'quoniam magnificasti super omne nomen, hoc est, quod in caelo et in terra dici potest sanctum, filium tuum.' "

Yet the Roman Psalter has *super nos.* The *Utrecht Psalter* originally had *omnes,* but the *s* has been scratched out; the Mozarabic Psalter has *super omnia.*

> "82. Centesimo tricesimo octauo: *quia non est sermo in lingua mea* (Ps. CXXXVIII. 4). Pro quo in Graeco legisse uos dicitis: *quia non est dolus in lingua mea,* quod solum sexta editio interpretata est. Ceterum et apud Septuaginta

[138] Migne, vol. XXXVII, col. 1758.

et apud omnes interpretes et ipsum Hebraicum uel λαλιὰν uel λόγον, id est 'eloquium' et 'uerbum,' scriptum habet. Denique Hebraice 'mala' dicitur."

But *dolus* is in the Roman and Mozarabic Psalters.

"83. Centesimo tricesimo nono: *funes extenderunt in laqueum* (Ps. CXXXIX. 6). Pro quo in Graeco inuenisse uos dicitis: *funes extenderunt laqueum pedibus meis.* Sed hoc in hoc loco superfluum est. In eodem pro eo, quod est: *habitabunt recti cum uultu tuo* (Ps. CXXXIX. 14), in Graeco repperisse uos dicitis: *et habitabunt;* sed hic 'et' coniunctio superflua est."

In verse 6 *in laqueum pedibus meis* is in the Roman Psalter, while the Mozarabic Psalter has *continuatis pedibus meis.* In verse 14 *et* is in the Gallican and Roman Psalters, though omitted in the translation from the Hebrew.

"84. Centesimo quadragesimo: *dissipata sunt ossa nostra secus infernum* (Ps. CXL. 7). Pro quo in Graeco legisse uos dicitis: *ossa eorum.* Sed et hoc superfluum est."

Τὰ ὀστᾶ αὐτῶν is in many good Septuagint texts.

"85. Centesimo quadragesimo sexto: *nec in tibiis uiri bene placitum erit ei* (Ps. CXLVI. 10). Pro 'ei' 'domino' legisse uos dicitis, quod non habetur."

It is true that *Domino* is not in any text, but in the *Tractatus de Psalmo CXLVI* Jerome explains *non placet ei* by *non placet Deo.*

"86. Ideo autem, quod et uos in fine scedulae quaeritis et sanctus filius meus Auitus frequenter efflagitat, quomodo Graeca interpretanda sunt uerba, breuiter adnotaui. Νεομηνία mensis exordium est, quod nos secundum Latinae linguae

proprietatem kalendas possumus dicere. Uerum quia apud Hebraeos mensis secundum lunae cursum supputatur et apud Graecos μήνη luna dicitur, νεομηνία quasi noua luna appellatur. Ἔρημος autem desertum uel solitudinem significat, θρόνος sedem uel solium, νυκτικόραξ, ut diximus, noctuam. κυνόμυια non, ut Latini interpretati sunt, 'musca canina' dicitur per υ Graecam litteram, sed iuxta Hebraicam intellegentiam per δίφθογγον debet scribi οι, ut sit κοινόμυια, id est 'omne muscarum genus,' quod Aquila, πάνμικτον id est 'omnimodam muscam,' interpretatus est. Λαξευτήριον autem, pro quo Latinus 'asciam' uertit, nos genus ferramenti interpretamur, quo lapides dolantur. Denique ex Hebraeo uertentes ita diximus: *et nunc sculpturas eius pariter bipinne et dolatoriis deraserunt* (Ps. LXXIII. 6); λαξευτήριον ergo dolatorium dici potest."

Neomenia is referred to in Jerome several times,[139] and the quotation in the Letter to the Goths comes nearest to the passage in Ezechiel or to Isidore,[140] who also de-

139 "Et mensis spiritualis, quando a puncto usque ad punctum luna complebitur, et suo curret ordine, ut efficiat mensem, id est, kalendas, quae Graece appellantur *νεομηνίαι*, hoc est, mensis novi exordium, apud quos initium kalendarum, non juxta solis cursum, et diversa mensium spatia, sed juxta lunae circuitum incipit et finitur," *Comment. in Isaiam*, LXVI. 22, 23, in Migne, vol. XXIV, col. 674. "Colliguntur anni quadringenti septuaginta quinque, qui faciunt annos Hebraicos quadringentos nonaginta, juxta lunares (ut diximus) menses. Qui secundum illorum supputationem possunt facere per singulos menses dies viginti novem [*Al.* viginti octo], et semis," *Comment. in Danielem*, IX. 24, *ibid.*, vol. XXV, col. 543 f. "Mensis autem Hodes dicitur: denique Aquila *neomenias*, id est, *Kalendas* interpretatus est: Symmachus et Theodotion *mensem;* et est sensus, per singulos menses hostis adveniet, et cuncta vastabit," *Comment. in Osee*, V. 6, 7, *ibid.*, col. 860.

140 "*Neomenia* apud nos kalendae, apud Hebraeos autem, quia secun-

rived it from this passage. The latter is more likely the case, since the explanation of ἔρημος [141] and θρόνος [142] are based on Isidore. Similarly, as we have seen, νυκτικόραξ is based on Isidore's definition. The statement about writing κοινόμυια is absurd, since the Septuagint knows only κυνόμυια and since in the Roman Psalter Jerome himself writes *musca canina* in Psalm LXXVII. 45. It is true, Jerome wrote in the translation from the Hebrew *omne genus muscarum* and in CIV. 31 *omnimodam muscam,* in accordance with the πάμμυια and πάμμικτος of Aquila, who could not possibly have thought of the nonexisting Gr. κοινόμυια, but here had in mind Heb. ערב, which he mistook for עֵרֶב *ereb* "mixture." Only a later etymologist, who perpetrated μύσταξ ἀρκόμυς, could have had the happy idea of changing κυνόμυια to κοινόμυια. Similarly, λαξευτήριον *dolatorium* is due to Psalm LXXIII. 6, according to Jerome's translation from the Hebrew, for in the Gallican and Roman Psalter he writes *ascia.*

dum lunarem cursum menses supputantur, et Graece *μήνη* luna appellatur, inde *neomenia,* id est nova luna," VI. 18. 10.

141 "Eremitae hi sunt, qui et anachoritae, ab hominum conspectu remoti, eremum et desertas solitudines appetentes. Nam eremum dicitur quasi remotum," VII. 13. 4.

142 "Sedis singulari numero proprie regni est, qui Graece *θρόνος* dicitur. Item thronum Graeci dicunt; nos solium," XX. 11. 9.

JEROME'S TECHNIQUE.

S. Reiter's[1] study of Jerome's lemmata in Jeremiah is of especial importance to us, since an investigation of the Psalms lemmata in all of Jerome's works bears out his conclusions on every point. Reiter finds the following chief variations in Jerome's quotations: (1) he varies the grammatical forms and synonyms, using them alternatively in similar passages; (2) unimportant words are added or omitted at will; (3) Jerome follows the Vulgate version in the lemmata, but not servilely, substituting words from his own translations, when these serve his purpose best; (4) he treats the Hebrew original and Septuagint version with equal respect, explaining now from one source, now from another, but in difficult passages objectively from both; (5) he occasionally invokes the testimony of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion, now following, now rejecting them, in so far as their opinions seem to him to bear upon the matter under discussion; (6) in the lemmata from the Psalms, of which, however, there is not any great number, he partly quotes from his translation from the Hebrew and partly from a pre-Hieronymian Vulgate text, but there are also unaccounted-for variations.

We shall now study the Psalms lemmata in Jerome in those cases where variants occur.[2]

1 *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi in Hieremiam Prophetam libri sex*, Vindobonae, Lipsiae 1913, in *CSEL.*, vol. LIX, *Prolegomena.*

2 The following abbreviations are used in the list of quotations: Ab. = *Comment. in Abacuc*, Abd. = *Comment. in Abdiam*, Ag. = *Comment. in Aggaeum*, Am. = *Comment. in Amos*, Apol. = *Apologia adversus libros Rufini*, Ben. = *De benedictionibus Jacob Patriarchae*, Com.

I. 1. *in cathedra pestilentiae,* R., G., Trac., Ezech. (M. XXV. 178), Mat. (M. XXVI. 167).
—*pestilentium,* Com., Os. (M. XXV. 876).
—*derisorum,* H.

2. *in lege domini fuit voluntas eius et in lege eius meditabitur die ac nocte,* R., Ep. LIII (p. 448).
—omit *fuit*—, G., H., Com., Trac.

3. *et erit tamquam lignum, quod plantatum est secus decursus aquarum, quod fructum suum dabit in tempore suo; et folium eius non defluet,* G., Trac., Jer. (p. 209),——*aquarum*], Com.
—*decidet,* R.
quasi lignum fructiferum—aquarum], Jer. (p. 387).

4. *tamquam pulvis quem projicit ventus a facie terrae,* R., G., Com., Trac.
—*proiecit*—, Jer. (p. 171).

= *Commentarioli in Psalmos,* Dan. = *Comment. in Danielem,* Did. = *Interpretatio libri Didymi,* Eccl. = *Comment. in Ecclesiasten,* Ep. = *Epistles* (I—LXX in *CSEL.*, vol. LIV, LXXI—CXX, *ibid.*, vol. LV), Ezech. = *Comment. in Ezechielem,* G. = *Gallican Psalter,* H. = *Librum psalmorum juxta hebraicam veritatem,* Hil. = *Interpretatio Vitae S. Hilarionis,* Hom. = *Interpretatio homiliarum Origenis,* H. Q. = *Liber hebraicarum quaestionum in Genesim,* Is. = *Comment. in Isaiam,* Jer. = *Comment. in Hieremiam* (*CSEL*, vol. LIX), Jo. = *Comment. in Joelem,* Joan. = *Liber contra Joannem Hierosolymitanum,* Jon. = *Comment. in Jonam,* Jov. = *Adversus Jovinianum libri duo,* Luc. = *Dialogus contra Luciferianos,* M. = Migne, *Patrologia latina,* Mal. = *Comment. in Malachiam,* Mat. = *Comment. in Evangelium Matthaei,* Mi. = *Comment. in Michaeam,* Na. = *Comment. in Naum,* Os. = *Comment. in Osee,* Pach. = *Epistola S. Pachomii,* Pel. = *Dialogus adversus Pelagianos,* R. = *Roman Psalter,* So. = *Comment. in Sophoniam,* Tent. = *Decem tentationes populi Israel,* Trac. = *Tractatus in librum psalmorum,* Vig. = *Liber contra Vigilantium,* Virg. = *De perpetua virginitate B. Mariae liber,* Za. = *Comment. in Zachariam.*

II. 1. *quare fremuerunt gentes et populi meditati sunt inania?* R., G., Com.
quia—, Za. (M. XXV. 1522).

7. *dominus dixit ad me, filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te,* R., G., Com.
—dicit—, Za. (M. XXV. 1443).

III. 3. *multi dicunt animae meae: non est salus ipsi in deo ejus. Diapsalma,* G.
—illi—, R.
—huic in deo semper, H.
—illi in deo suo semper, Ep. XXVIII (p. 228).

5. *uoce mea ad dominum clamaui, et exaudiuit me de monte sancto suo. Diapsalma,* R., G.
—semper, Ep. XXVIII (p. 229).
—clamabo—exaudiet—semper, H.

6. *ego dormivi et soporatus sum; et exsurrexi, quia dominus suscepit me,* G., Jer. (p. 401).
—somnum cepi et resurrexi, quoniam Dominus suscipict me, R., Com.
—somnum cepi et resurrexi, quia dominus suscitavit me, Did. (M. XXIII. 146).

8. *dentes peccatorum contrivisti,* G., R., Ep. XXVIII (p. 228).
—conteruisti, Com.

9. *domini est salus et super populum tuum benedictio tua. Diapsalma,* G.
—omit *diapsalma,* R.
—sela, Ep. XXVIII (p. 228).

IV. 2. *in tribulatione dilatasti mihi,* G., Com.
—*me,* R.

3. *ut quid diligitis vanitatem et quaeritis mendacium? Diapsalma,* R., G., Com.
—*semper,* Ep. XXVIII (p. 229).
quare—omit *diapsalma,* Ep. XCVI (p. 171,—*vanitatem*], Pach. (M. XXIII. 89).

5. *quae dicitis in cordibus vestris, et in cubilibus vestris conpungimini. Diapsalma,* R.,—*conpungimini*], Com.
—*semper,* Ep. XXVIII (p. 229).
—omit *et*—, G.

V. 4. *mane exaudies vocem meam, mane adstabo tibi et videbo,* R., G., Com., Trac., Jer. (p. 98), Ezech. (M. XXV. 462).
—*orationem—assistam tibi*—, Is. (M. XXIV. 82), So. (M. XXV. 1378).

6. *non habitabit juxta te malignus,* R., Trac., Is. (M. XXIV. 562).
neque—, G., Trac.

9. *dirige in conspectu meo viam tuam,* G., Trac.
—*tuo—meam,* R.
rectam fac in conspectu tuo viam meam, Pel. (M. XXIII. 578).

11. *quoniam irritaverunt te, domine,* G., Trac., Os. (M. XXV. 901), Mal. (M. XXV. 1560).
—*exacerbaverunt te*—, R.

13. *domine, ut scuto bonae voluntatis tuae coronasti nos,* R., Com., Pel. (M. XXIII. 569), Is. (M. XXIV. 262, 378, 488).
—omit *tuae*—, G., Trac.

VI. 2. *domine, ne in furore tuo arguas me, neque in ira tua corripias me,* G., H., Com., Jer. (pp. 139, 374), Is. (M. XXIV. 89, 492, 678), Jo. (M. XXV. 973), Mi. (M. XXV. 1204).
—*ira tua—furore tuo*—, R., Hom. (M. XXV. 694, 712).

3. *sana me, domine, quoniam conturbata sunt ossa mea,* G., Ezech. (M. XXV. 330).
—*omnia ossa mea,* R.

6. *in inferno autem quis confitebitur tibi,* G., R., Com., Ep. XXII (p. 190), Virg. (M. XXIII. 186), Is. (M. XXIV. 210), Os. (M. XXV. 865), Am. (M. XXV. 1052), Mat. (M. XXVI. 185).
—omit *autem*—, H., Am. (M. XXV. 1089).

7. *lavabo per singulas noctes lectum meum, lacrymis meis stratum meum rigabo,* G., Os. (M. XXV. 880, 925).
—omit *meis*—, R.
—*in lacrymis meis*—, Com.
—*in lacrymis,* omit *meis*—, Ep. CVIII (p. 326), Is. (M. XXIV. 296).

9. *discedite a me omnes qui operamini iniquitatem,* G., R., Com.
recedite—, H.
recedite—omit *omnes*—, Mi. (M. XXV. 1192).

11. *erubescant et conturbentur vehementer omnes inimici mei: convertantur et erubescant valde velociter,* G., [*convertantur—velociter*], Com.
—*avertantur retrorsum et*—, R.

confundantur et revereantur omnes—convertantur retrorsum, et confundantur —, Ezech. (M. XXV. 156).

VII. 8. *synagoga populorum circundabit te, et propter hanc in altum regredere,* R., G., Trac.

congregatio—omit *et—in excelsum convertere,* Is. (M. XXIV. 543).

13. *nisi conversi fueritis, gladium suum vibrabit; arcum suum tetendit, et paravit illum,* G., Trac.,—*vibrabit*], Is. (M. XXIV. 664), [*arcum—illum*], Za. (M. XXV. 1492).

—*eum,* Is. (M. XXIV. 223).

—*convertamini—vibravit*—, R.

—*convertamini,* Za. (M. XXV. 1448),—*vibrabit*], Com.

14. *in ipso paravit vasa mortis: sagittas suas ardentibus effecit,* R., Is. (M. XXIV. 223), Za. (M. XXV. 1492).

—*eo*—, G., Trac.

sagittas suas arsuris operatus est, Com.

—*sagittas suas ad comburendum operatus est,* H.

17. *convertetur dolor ejus in caput ejus; et in verticem ipsius iniquitas ejus descendet,* G., Trac.

—*in verticem ejus*—, R.

revertetur—dolor suus—super verticem ejus iniquitas sua—, H.

—*super verticem illius*—, Is. (M. XXIV. 635).

et dolor ejus et iniquitas super verticem ejus descendet, So. (M. XXV. 1385).

VIII. 3. *ut destruas inimicum et ultorem,* G., Is. (M. XXIV. 209), Ezech. (M. XXV. 260), Os. (M. XXV. 865).
—*defensorem,* R.

4. *videbo caelos tuos, opera digitorum tuorum,* G.
—omit *tuos*—, R., Com., Joan. (M. XXIII. 362), Is. (M. XXIV. 645).

6. *minuisti eum paulo minus ab angelis,* R., G., *minuisti* (*minorasti*)—Jov. (M. XXIII. 290).
minorasti—, Com.

9. *qui perambulant semitas maris,* R., G., So. (M. XXV. 1342).
—*pertranseunt*—, Com.

IX. 1. *pro occultis filii,* G., Trac., Ep. LIII (p. 450).
propter occulta filii, R.
pro absconditis filii, Com., Ep. LXV (p. 641).

6. *nomen eorum delesti in aeternum et in saeculum saeculi,* G., R., Is. (M. XXIV. 297).
—*in saeculum et in saeculum saeculi,* Is. (M. XXIV. 146).

7. *et civitates eorum destruxisti,* R., Luc. (M. XXIII. 168).
—omit *eorum*—, G.

15. *qui exaltas me de portis morti: ut annuntiem omnes laudes tuas in portis filiae Sion,* R., Na. (M. XXV. 1267).
—*laudationes*—, G., Is. (M. XXIV. 293, 393).

cantabo quippe omnes laudes—, Hom. (M. XXV. 783).

20. *exsurge, domine, non confortetur homo*, G., Is. (M. XXIV. 222).
—praevaleat—, R.

24. *quoniam laudatur peccator in desideriis animae suae, et iniquus benedicitur*, G., Os. (M. XXV. 849).
—et qui iniqua gerit—, R.
laudatur enim—et qui iniqua gerit—, Eccl. (M. XXIII. 1077).

30. *insidiatur in abscondito quasi leo in spelunca sua*, G.
—occulto sicut leo in cubili suo, R.
—absconditis sicut leo in cubili suo, Ezech. (M. XXV. 164).
—occulto sicut leo—, Ep. XIV (p. 49).
—apocrypho—, Is. (M. XXIV. 622).

36. *contere brachium peccatoris*, G., Ezech. (M. XXV. 296).
conteres—, R.

X 3. *tetenderunt arcum*, R., Trac.
intenderunt—, G., Pel. (M. XXIII. 557), Is. (M. XXIV. 268), Am. (M. XXV. 1013).

7. *ignis et sulphur*, G., Ezech. (M. XXV. 19).
—omit *et—*, R., Trac.

XI. 7. *igne examinatum, probatum terrae*, G., Jer. (p. 120), Is. (M. XXIV. 38), Ezech. (M. XXV. 212), Os. (M. XXV. 832), Ag. (M. XXV. 1404), Mat. (M. XXVI. 188).

igne examinatum terrae, R., Ep. X (p. 38), Ep. XVIII A(p. 81).
igne probatum terrae, Ep. XVIII B(p. 100), Eccl. (M. XXIII. 1100).

9. *in circuitu impii ambulant,* R., G., Com.
—*ambulabunt,* H., Ep. XCII (p. 148).

XII. 1. *usquequo avertis faciem,* R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 576).
quousque—, R.
quamdiu—, Is. (M. XXIV. 352).

4. *ne umquam obdormiam,* R., G.
—*forte—,* Ep. CXIX (p. 456).

XIII. 1. *dixit insipiens,* R., G.
—*stultus,* H., Is. (M. XXIV. 553).

3. *non est qui faciat bonum, non est usque ad unum,* R., G., Com., Jer. (p. 168), Is. (M. XXIV. 312), Ezech. (M. XXV. 234), Za. (M. XXV. 1521).
—*fuit qui faceret—fuit—,* Jer. (p. 109).

4. *devorant plebem meam sicut escam panis,* R., G.
—*populum meum—,* Mat. (M. XXVI. 151).
—*populum meum ut cibum—,* H.
—*populum meum velut—,* Jer. (p. 45).

XIV. 1. *quis requiescet in monte sancto tuo,* R., G., Trac., Ep. LXXVIII (p. 69).
—*ascendet in montem sanctum tuum,* Za. (M. XXV. 1444).
et in monte sancto tuo, Eccl. (M. XXIII. 1042).

2. *qui ingreditur sine macula,* R., G., Trac.
—ambulat—, Za. (M. XXV. 1468).
—ambulat immaculatus, Is. (M. XXIV. 538).
3. *qui loquitur veritatem,* R., G., Trac.
loquiturque—, H.
et loquitur—, Za. (M. XXV. 1468).
4. *glorificat,* G., Trac.
magnificat, R., Hom. (M. XXV. 682).

XV. 5. *qui restitues haereditatem meam mihi,* G., Com., Za. (M. XXV. 1443).
—restituisti mihi—, R.
7. *qui tribuit mihi intellectum,* G., Is. (M. XXIV. 504).
—mihi tribuit—, R., Com., Trac.
9. *caro mea requiescet,* R., G., Trac.
—requiescit, Joan. (M. XXIII. 381).
10. *nec dabis,* R., G., Trac., Ep. XCVIII (p. 192).
non—, Am. (M. XXV. 1045).

XVI. 1. *intende deprecationi meae,* R., Hom. (M. XXV. 760).
deprecationem meam, G.

XVII. 1. *in die qua eripuit eum dominus de manu omnium inimicorum eius et de manu Saul,* G.
—eruit—de manu Saul et de manu omnium inimicorum ejus, R.
—eruit—, Jer. (p. 419).
2. *domine, fortitudo mea,* G., Jer. (p. 419), Za. (M. XXV. 1498).
—virtus—, R., Com.

3. *fortitudo mea, dominus firmamentum meum et refugium meum et liberator meus,* G.
virtus mea, dominus—, R.
dominus firmamentum meum et fortitudo mea et—, Hom. (M. XXIII. 1119).

12. *posuit enim deus tenebras,* Za. (M. XXV. 1424).
—omit *enim deus—,* R., G., Com., Is. (M. XXIV. 335), Ezech. (M. XXV. 30), Dan. (M. XXV. 501), Za. (M. XXV. 1454).

16. *fundamenta orbis terrarum,* G., Com., Luc. (M. XXIII. 168).
—*terrae,* R.

43. *ut lutum platearum,* R., G., Hom. (M. XXV. 596).
quasi—, Is. (M. XXIV. 224).

44. *eripies me,* R., G.,
eripe—, Is. (M. XXIV. 585).

46. *filii alieni inveterati sunt, et claudicaverunt a semitis suis,* G., Mal. (M. XXV. 1560).
—*inveteraverunt—,* R., Is. (M. XXIV. 585).
—*inveteraverunt—in semitis—,* Is. (M. XXIV. 289).

XVIII. 3. *dies diei eructat verbum,* R., G.
—*eructuat—,* Com.
—*annuntiet—,* R.
—*annuntiat—,* Jer. (p. 406).

5. *in omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum,* R., G.,

Am. (M. XXV. 1040, 1060), Ab. (M. XXV. 1312).
—*sonus ejus—verba illius,* Ep. LXXVIII (p. 83).

6. *tamquam sponsus procedens de thalamo suo,* R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 606).
—*processit—,* Ep. LXV (p. 626).
—*egreditur—,* Os. (M. XXV. 868).
exsultavit ut gigas ad currendam viam suam, Is. (M. XXIV. 58).
—omit *suam,* R., G., Com.

7. *occursus ejus usque ad summum ejus,* R., G., Am. (M. XXV. 1044).
—*summum illius,* Is. (M. XXIV. 58).
occursus illius—, Ep. LXV (p. 626).

8. *testimonium domini fidele,* R., G.
—*dei—,* Jer. (p. 88).

9. *praeceptum domini,* R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 296), Ezech. (M. XXV. 178).
mandatum—, H., Ep. XVIII B(p. 100), Is. (M. XXIV. 246, 481, 544), Mat. (M. XXVI. 171).
mandatum dei, Am. (M. XXV. 1086).

10. *judicia domini vera, justificata in semetipsa,* G.
—*domini recta—,* Is. (M. XXIV. 522).
—*semetipsis,* Ezech. (M. XXV. 171).
—*dei—semetipsis,* R.

13. *munda me, domine,* R., Jer. (p. 211), Apol. (M. XXIII. 429), Is. (M. XXIV. 495, 569, 631).
—omit *domine,* G., Pel. (M. XXIII. 505).

XIX. 7. *exaudiet illum de coelo,* R., G.
—*eum—,* H.
exaudiat eum—, Is. (M. XXIV. 557).

8. *hi in curribus, et hi in equis,* R., G., Hil. (M. XXIII. 32), Is. (M. XXIV. 49), Os. (M. XXV. 913), Am. (M. XXV. 1013, 1064), Za. (M. XXV. 1484, 1493, 1510).
—omit second *hi*—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 216).
isti—isti—, Com.
in nomine domini dei nostri magnificabimur, R., Os. (M. XXV. 913).
—omit *domini—,* Hil. (M. XXIII. 32).
—*invocabimus,* G., Is. (M. XXIV. 49), Am. (M. XXV. 1013), Za. (M. XXV. 1484).
—omit *domini—invocabimus,* Za. (M. XXV. 1493).

XX. 2. *in virtute tua,* R., G., Eccl. (M. XXIII. 1074), Ezech. (M. XXV. 271).
—*fortitudine—,* Com.
12. *cogitaverunt consilium quod non potuerunt stabilire,* R., Is. (M. XXIV. 535).
—*consilia quae—,* G.

XXI. 2. *deus, deus meus, respice in me, quare me dereliquisti?* R., G., Apol. (M. XXIII. 456).
—omit *in—,* Ep. LVII (p. 522).
—omit *respice in me—,* H., Com., Ep. LVII (p. 522).
—omit *respice in me—ut quid dereliquisti me,* Pel. (M. XXIII. 584).
verba delictorum meorum, R., G., Com., Pel. (M. XXIII. 585).

—*lamentationum mearum,* Is. (M. XXIV. 465).

7. *ego autem sum vermis,* R., G.
—omit *autem*—, Jon. (M. XXV. 1149).

11. *de ventre matris meae,* R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 466).
ex utero—, Mat. (M. XXVI. 141).

13. *tauri pingues obsederunt me,* R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 316).
—*circumdederunt*—, Com.

17. *circumdederunt me canes multi,* R., G.
circumierunt—, Com.
concilium malignantium, R., G.
et congregatio—, Mat. (M. XXVI. 207).

19. *super vestem meam,* R., G., Mat. (M. XXVI. 210).
—*vestimentum meum,* R., Is. (M. XXIV. 89).

21. *erue a framea deus animam meam,* G.
—omit *deus*—, R., Za. (M. XXV. 1520).

23. *narrabo nomen tuum,* R., G., Virg. (M. XXIII. 198), Hom. (M. XXV. 633), Mal. (M. XXV. 1560).
annuntiabo—, Mat. (M. XXVI. 217).
laudabo te, R., G.
cantabo—, R.
cantabo tibi, Hom. (M. XXV. 633), Mal. (M. XXV. 1560).

28. *reminiscentur et convertentur ad dominum,* R., G., Za. (M. XXV. 1495).
recordabuntur—, H., Is. (M. XXIV. 502).
recordabuntur et redibunt—, Is. (M. XXIV. 499).
universae familiae gentium, G., Za. (M. XXV. 1495).

omnes—, Is. (M. XXIV. 499, 502).
omnes patriae—, R.

29. *quoniam domini est regnum*, R., G., Za. (M. XXV. 1495).
—*regnum est*, Is. (M. XXIV. 499).
quia—, Is. (M. XXIV. 502).

30. *in conspectu ejus cadent omnes*, G., Ezech. (M. XXV. 303).
—*procident universi*, R.

31. *anima mea illi vivet et semen meum serviet ipsi*, G., Ep. CVIII (p. 318).
—*ipsi*—*illi*, R.

32. *annuntiabunt coeli justitiam*, R., Is. (M. XXIV. 658).
—omit *coeli*—, G.

XXII. 1. *dominus regit me et nihil mihi deerit*, R., G., Ep. LXXVIII (p. 70), Za. (M. XXV. 1490).
—*pascit*—, Com., Is. (M. XXIV. 229, 468), Os. (M. XXV. 934), Mi. (M. XXV. 1199), So. (M. XXV. 1380).
—*pascit*—omit *et*—, H.

2. *super aquam refectionis*, R., G.
—*aquas*—, H., Is. (M. XXIV. 83), Ezech. (M. XXV. 330), Za. (M. XXV. 1490), Mal. (M. XXV. 1544).

4. *etsi ambulavero*, G.
si—, Ep. LXXVIII (p. 79).
—*ambulem*, R.

5. *calix meus inebrians quam praeclarus est*, G., Ep. CXX (p. 479).
poculum meum—*praeclarum*—, R.
—*tuus*—, Hom. (M. XXV. 648, 649), Jo. (M. XXV. 958), Ag. (M. XXV. 1394),

—*praeclarus*], Jer. (p. 388).
—*domini—perquam optimus est,* Hom. (M. XXIII. 1122),—*optimus*], Ep. XLIV (p. 322).

XXIII. 2. *fundavit eum et super flumina praeparavit eum,* G.
—*eam—illam,* R.
—*collocavit illum,* Is. (M. XXIV. 371).
7. *attollite portas, principes, vestras,* G., Is. (M. XXIV. 32).
tollite—, R., Ep. XVIII A (p. 84).
aperite—, Abd. (M. XXV. 1101).
levate—, Ep. XXXVI (p. 273), Is. (M. XXIV. 610).
levate—vestri, Com.
levate, portae, capita vestra, H., Jer. (p. 23).
8. *quis est iste rex gloriae?* R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 610).
—omit *iste—,* Dan. (M. XXV. 538).
dominus potens in proelio, R., G.
—*fortis—,* Is. (M. XXIV. 610), Dan. (M. XXV. 538).

XXIV. 7. *delicta juventutis meae et ignorantias meas ne memineris,* G., Ep. LXXVI (p. 34), Jer. (p. 393), Ezech. (M. XXV. 238, 455), Ab. (M. XXV. 1307).
—*juventutis et ignorantiae meae—,* R.
peccata adulescentiae meae et ignorantiae meae—, Com.
peccata adulescentiae meae et ignorantiae ne—, Ep. C (p. 213).

XXV. 3. *quoniam misericordia tua ante oculos meos est,* R., G.
quia ante oculos meos misericordia tua est, Pel. (M. XXIII. 555).
4. *cum concilio vanitatis,* G., Jer. (p. 193).
in concilio—, R.
in concilio malignantium, Jer. (p. 362).
5. *odivi ecclesiam malignantium,* G., Jer. (p. 193), Ezech. (M. XXV. 81).
—congregationem malignorum, R.
8. *locum habitationis gloriae tuae,* G., Ep. LXV (p. 643), Ep. CVIII (p. 347), Ezech. (M. XXV. 419).
—tabernaculi gloriae—, R., Jon. (M. XXV. 1134).
12. *pes enim meus stetit in via recta,* R.
—omit *enim—in directo,* G., Pel. (M. XXIII. 555).

XXVI. 1. *et salus mea,* R., G., Ezech. (M. XXV. 315), Za. (M. XXV. 1492).
—salvator meus, Is. (M. XXIV. 490, 554), So. (M. XXV. 1382).
2. *dum appropiant super me nocentes, ut edant carnes meas,* R., G.
—appropinquant—, Jer. (p. 18).
—appropinquarent—ut ederent—, Za. (M. XXV. 1492).
cum appropinquarent mihi qui affligebant, ut comederent—, Is. (M. XXIV. 474).
cum appropinquarent adversum me qui affligunt me, ut comederent—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 54).
qui tribulant me et inimici mei, Jer. (p. 18).

—omit *et*—, R., G., Za. (M. XXV. 1492).

3. *si consistant adversum me castra,* G., Za. (M. XXV. 1492).
   —*adversus me*—, R.
   —*steterit*—, Apol. (M. XXIII. 401).
   si exsurgat adversum me praelium, G., Za. (M. XXV. 1492).
   —*insurgat in me*—, R.
   —*steterit*—, Apol. (M. XXIII. 401).
4. *unam petivi a domino, hanc requiram,* R., G., Com., Eccl. (M. XXIII. 1072).
   unum—hoc—, H., Ep. LXV (p. 643), Is. (M. XXIV. 43, 517), Ezech. (M. XXV. 405, 419), Za. (M. XXV. 1537).
   ut inhabitem in domo domini omnibus diebus vitae meae, R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 517), Ezech. (M. XXV. 405, 419), Za. (M. XXV. 1537).
   —*omnes dies*—, R., Is. (M. XXIV. 43).
   —*habitem—omnes dies*—, Ep. LXV (p. 643).
   —*habitem*—, H.
   ut videam voluptatem domini, et visitem templum ejus, G., Ezech. (M. XXV. 374).
   et videam delectationem—, Za. (M. XXV. 1537).
   —*jucunditatem—templum sanctum*—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 405).
   —*voluntatem—et protegar a templo sancto*—, R.
6. *in petra exaltavit me,* R., G.
   —*exaltasti*—, Is. (M. XXIV. 50).
11. *legem pone mihi, domine, in via tua,* G., Ezech. (M. XXV. 145).

—mihi constitue, domine, in via, R.
dirige me in semitam rectam, R., G.
deduc—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 109).
deduc—semita recta, H.

13. *bona domini in terra viventium,* R., G., Ep. XXII (p. 144), Ep. CVIII (p. 347), Ep. CXX (p. 510), Is. (M. XXIV. 37, 217, 531, 555, 598), Ezech. (M. XXV. 276, 487), Os. (M. XXV. 845, 940), Am. (M. XXV. 1096), Za. (M. XXV. 1427), Mat. (M. XXVI. 34).
—regione viventium, Ep. XXI (p. 120).

XXVII. 1. *ne sileas a me, ne quando taceas a me, et assimilabor descendentibus in lacum,* G., [*et assimilabor—,* Com.
ne sileas a me, et ero similis descendentibus—, R.
ne taceas, neque compescaris, deus, et ne sileas a me, et assimilabor—, Am. (M. XXV. 1080).
adsimilatus sum—, Jer. (p. 82).

XXVIII. 1. *in atrio sancto ejus,* G., Za. (M. XXV. 1438).
—aula sancta ejus, R.

5. *vox domini confringentis cedros,* R., G., Za. (M. XXV. 1499).
—conterentis—, Com.
confringet dominus cedros Libani, R., G., Ezech. (M. XXV. 302), Za. (M. XXV. 1499).
commovebit—, Jer. (p. 257).
conteret—, Is. (M. XXIV. 218).

6. *dilectus quemadmodum filius unicornium,* G.
—*sicut*—, Ep. LXXVIII (p. 73).
—*sicut—unicornuorum,* R.
7. *vox domini intercidentis flammam,* R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 352), Za. (M. XXV. 1521).
—*incidentis*—, Com.
8. *vox domini concutientis solitudinem,* R., Is. (M. XXIV. 374).
—*desertum,* G., Com., Is. (M. XXIV. 374, 659).
—*parere faciens desertum,* Is. (M. XXIV. 659).
—*parturire faciens desertum,* H.
commovebit dominus, R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 374).
concutiet—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 480).
9. *vox domini praeparantis cervos,* R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 374, 586).
—*perficientis*—, Is. (M. XXIV. 373).
revelabit condensa silvarum, Is. (M. XXIV. 374), Ezech. (M. XXV. 332).
—omit *silvarum,* R., G.
revelavit—omit silvarum, Is. (M. XXIV. 586).
10. *dominus diluvium inhabitare facit,* G., Ep. LXIX (p. 691), Is. (M. XXIV. 520).
—*inhabitat,* R., Com.

XXIX. 6. *ad matutinum,* R., G., Com.
in matutino, H., Ezech. (M. XXV. 462).
7. *ego autem dixi in abundantia mea,* G.
—omit *autem*—, Pel. (M. XXIII. 556).
—*mea abundantia,* R.

8. *in bona voluntate,* R.
—omit *bona*—, G., Pel. (M. XXIII. 556).

12. *conscidisti saccum meum et circumdedisti me laetitia,* G.
—*et praecinxisti*—, R.
scidisti—et induisti—, Ep. CVIII (p. 338).

XXX. 6. *pater, in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum,* Pel. (M. XXIII. 585).
omit *pater*—, R., G., Jon. (M. XXV. 1137).

13. *oblivioni datus sum, tamquam mortuus a corde,* G., Eccl. (M. XXIII. 1081).
excidi tamquam mortuus a corde, R.

19. *muta fiant labia dolosa,* G., Os. (M. XXV. 899).
—*efficiantur*—, R.
in superbia et in abusione, Os. (M. XXV. 899).
—*et abusione,* G.
—*et contemptu,* R.

XXXI. 1. *beati quorum remissae sunt iniquitates,* R., G., Ep. LXIV (p. 610), Ep. LXIX (p. 692), Pel. (M. XXIII. 585), Is. (M. XXIV. 534), Ezech. (M. XXV. 130), Os. (M. XXV. 889), Ab. (M. XXV. 1299).
beati enim—opertae sunt—, Os. (M. XXV. 907).

4. *versatus sum in miseria, dum infigitur mihi spina,* Pel. (M. XXIII. 563), Is. (M. XXIV. 676).
—*mihi infigitur*—, Jer. (p. 222).
versata sum—mihi infigitur—, Ep. CVIII (p. 307).

—*configitur*—, Apol. (M. XXIII. 429).
—*in infirmitate—configitur*—, Is. (M. XXIV. 331).
—*cum infigitur*—, Ab. (M. XXV. 1324).
—*miseria mea, cum exardesceret messis*, H.
conversus sum in aerumna mea, dum mihi infigitur spina, Ezech. (M. XXV. 40).
conversus sum in aerumna mea, dum configitur spina, G.
conversus sum in aerumna, dum configitur spina, R.

5. *delictum meum cognitum tibi feci*, R., G.
peccatum notum feci tibi, Is. (M. XXIV. 625).
peccatum meum notum facio tibi, H.
injustitiam meam non abscondi, G.
injustitias meas non operui, R.
iniquitatem meam non operui, Is. (M. XXIV. 625).
iniquitatem meam non abscondi, H.
dixi enim, pronuntiabo contra me injustitiam meam, Pel. (M. XXIII. 556).
—omit *enim—adversus me injustitias meas*, R.
—omit *enim—adversum me iniquitatem meam*, Is. (M. XXIV. 625).
—omit *enim—confitebor adversum me*—, G.
tu dimisisti impietatem cordis mei, R., Is. (M. XXIV. 625).
—*remisisti—peccati mei*, G., Pel. (M. XXIII. 556).

7. *exsultatio mea, erue me*, G., Za. (M. XXV. 1494).

—*redime me,* R.

9. *in freno et camo maxillas eorum constringes, qui non approximant* (*appropinquant*) *ad te,* R.
—*constringe—approximant—,* Za. (M. XXV. 1539).
—*c o n s t r i n g e—appropinquant—,* Ep. LXXVIII (p. 68).
—*constringe—appropinquant tibi,* Is. (M. XXIV. 388).
—*camo et f r e n o—constringe—approximant—,* G., Ezech. (M. XXV. 358).
—*camo et freno—constringe—appropinquant—,* Ezech. (M. XXV. 81).

10. *multa flagella peccatoris,* G., Pel. (M. XXIII. 521).
—*peccatorum,* R.

XXXII. 6. *omnis virtus eorum,* R. G., Ep. CXX (p. 499), Jer. (p. 334), Is. (M. XXIV. 82, 407).
omit *omnis*—, Is. (M. XXIV. 439).

15. *finxit singillatim corda eorum,* R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 667).
—*per singulos*—, Com.
qui intelligit in omnia opera eorum, R.
—omit *in*—, G.
et intelligit—omit *in*—, Is. (M. XXIV. 667).

17. *fallax equus ad salutem,* R., G., Ezech. (M. XXV. 254), Am. (M. XXV. 1013, 1064), Ab. (M. XXV. 1319), Za. (M. XXV. 1493).

—*in salutem,* Is. (M. XXIV. 49, 355), Ezech. (M. XXV. 242), Hom. (M. XXV. 624), Za. (M. XXV. 1484, 1510).

XXXIII. 6. *accedite ad eum,* R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 46).
—*ad dominum,* Is. (M. XXIV. 115).
facies vestrae non confundentur, G., Is. (M. XXIV. 46).
vultus vestri non erubescent, R.

7. *iste pauper clamavit et dominus exaudivit eum,* R., G.
hic pauper—illum. Is. (M. XXIV. 336).
hic pauper—exaudivit, H.

8. *immittet angelus domini in circuitu timentium eum et eripiet eos,* R., G., Za. (M. XXV. 1483).
circumdat—liberabit eos, Is. (M. XXIV. 78),—*timentium eum*], Is. (M. XXIV. 671).
circumdet—eripiat eos, Ab. (M. XXV. 1286).
circumdabit—in gyro timentes eum, et eruet eos, H.

9. *quoniam suavis est dominus,* R., G., Ep. LXXVIII (p. 71), Ep. CVIII (p. 339), Jer. (p. 287), Ezech. (M. XXV. 32, 57), Mat. (M. XXVI. 184).
—*suavis* sive *dulcis*—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 102).
quam suavis—, Ep. LXXI (p. 7), Is. (M. XXIV. 86, 256), Am. (M. XXV. 1095).
quia suavis—, Jer. (p. 403).

10. *non est inopia timentibus eum,* G., Is. (M. XXIV. 480, 583).

nihil deest timentibus eum, R., Eccl. (M. XXIII. 1116).

13. *et diligit dies videre bonos,* Is. (M. XXIV. 147).
omit *et*—, G.
—*cupit videre dies bonos,* R.

14. *cohibe linguam tuam a malo,* R., Is. (M. XXIV. 574).
compesce—, Is. (M. XXIV. 147).
prohibe—, G.

15. *diverte a malo,* R., G.
declina—, Is. (M. XXIV. 147).

16. *oculi enim domini super justos, et aures illius in precem eorum,* Is. (M. XXIV. 500),—*justos*], Ezech. (M. XXV. 103).
—omit *enim—aures ejus ad preces eorum,* R.
—omit *enim—aures ejus in preces eorum,* G.

17. *vultus autem domini super facientes mala,* R., G.
—*enim*—, Eccl. (M. XXIII. 1078).
facies enim—, Na. (M. XXV. 1236).
facies domini—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 44, 115).
ut perdat, R., G., Na. (M. XXV. 1236).
—*disperdat,* Ezech. (M. XXV. 44, 115).

21. *dominus custodit omnia ossa eorum, unum ex eis non conteretur,* R.
—*ex his*—, Is. (M. XXIV. 571).
custodit dominus—ex iis—, G.

22. *mors peccatorum pessima est,* R., Ezech. (M. XXV. 57, 122).
—omit *est,* G., Com.

XXXIV. 3. *conclude adversus eos qui persequuntur me,* G.
—ex adverso eorum qui—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 90).
—adversos eos—me persequuntur, R.
praeoccupa ex adverso persequentes me, H.
10. *domine, quis similis tibi,* R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 571).
deus, —, Hom. (M. XXV. 781).
—similis erit tibi, Ezech. (M. XXV. 269).
—similis tui, H., Jer. (p. 276).
13. *ego autem cum mihi molesti essent, induebar cilicio,* G.
et cum—, Is. (M. XXIV. 565).
—induebam me—, Com.
—dum mihi—induebam me—, R.
humiliabam in jejunio, R., G.
humiliavi—, Ep. CVIII (p. 307).
in sinu meo convertetur, G., Is. (M. XXIV. 635).
—convertebatur, R.

XXXV. 6. *veritas tua usque ad nubes,* R., G., Eccl. (M. XXIII. 1102), Ezech. (M. XXV. 20, 308), Hom. (M. XXV. 628), Na. (M. XXV. 1234), Za. (M. XXV. 1526).
—omit *usque—,* Is. (M. XXIV. 78).
7. *judicia tua abyssus multa,* R., G., Ab. (M. XXV. 1322).
judicia domini—, Ep. XXXIX (p. 297), Jon. (M. XXV. 1135), Za. (M. XXV. 1539).
homines enim et jumenta salvos facies, domine, Za. (M. XXV. 1469).

—omit *enim*—, R., Com., Jer. (p. 440), Ezech. (M. XXV. 335, 451), Za. (M. XXV. 1431).

—omit *enim—salvabis*—, G., Za. (M. XXV. 1431).

quoniam homines et jumenta—faciet dominus, Eccl. (M. XXIII. 1042).

9. *inebriabuntur ab ubertate domus tuae,* R., G., Za. (M. XXV. 1446).

—sive *pinguedine*—, Za. (M. XXV. 1446).

—*de pinguedine*—, H.

torrente voluptatis tuae potabis eos, R., G., Eccl. (M. XXIII. 1028), Is. (M. XXIV. 70).

—*illos,* Eccl. (M. XXIII. 1018).

de torrente—, Am. (M. XXV. 1068).

XXXVI. 1. *noli aemulari in malignantibus, neque zelaveris facientes iniquitatem,* G.

—*inter malignantes, neque aemulatus fueris*—, R.

ne zeleris in—neque aemuleris—, Is. (M. XXIV. 493).

4. *delectare in domino, et dabit tibi petitiones cordis tui,* G., Jer. (p. 394), Eccl. (M. XXIII. 1028), Is. (M. XXIV. 531, 574).

—sive *deliciis fruere in domino*—, Is. (M. XXIV. 531).

—*petitionem*—, R.

5. *revela ad dominum viam tuam, et spera in eum,* R., Pel. (M. XXIII. 556).

—*domino—in eo,* R., G.

6. *educet tamquam lumen justitiam tuam, et judicium tuum sicut meridiem,* R.
—*quasi lumen*—omit *tuum*—*tamquam meridiem,* G.
—*quasi lumen*—*tamquam meridiem,* Pel. (M. XXIII. 556).

18. *novit dominus vias immaculatorum, et haereditas eorum in aeternum erit,* R.
—*dies immaculatorum*—, G.
cognoscit—*erit in sempiternum,* Is. (M. XXIV. 641).

19. *in tempore malo,* R., G., Com.
—*pessimo,* Is. (M. XXIV. 641).

23. *a domino gressus hominis diriguntur,* R., Pel. (M. XXIII. 520).
—*dirigentur,* Jer. (p. 139).
apud dominum—*dirigentur,* G.
volet nimis, Jer. (p. 139).
—omit *nimis,* R., G.

25. *juvenior fui et senui,* R., Ep. XXII (p. 194).
juvenis—, Is. (M. XXIV. 83), Am. (M. XXV. 1085).
juvenis—*non senui,* Is. (M. XXIV. 641).
junior—*etenim senui,* G.
semen ejus quaerens panem, G., Ep. XXII (p. 194), Is. (M. XXIV. 83, 641), Am. (M. XXV. 1085).
—*egens pane,* R.

29. *justi vero haereditate possidebunt terram et inhabitabunt,* R.
—*autem haereditabunt terram*—, G.
justi possidebunt terram et habitabunt, Is. (M. XXIV. 575).

31. *in corde ipsius,* R., G.
—*illius,* Is. (M. XXIV. 487).
34. *custodi vias ejus, et exaltabit te, ut inhabites terram,* R.
—*elevabit te, ut possideas*—, Is. (M. XXIV. 575).
—*viam—ut haereditate capias terram,* G.
35. *vidi impium superexaltatum et elevatum sicut cedros Libani,* G.
—*super cedros*—, R.
—*impium exaltatum*—, Jer. (p. 257), Am. (M. XXV. 1009).
—*impium exaltatum—cedrum L i b a n i,* Com.
—*elevatum et exaltatum*—, Is. (M. XXIV. 349).
36. *et transivi, et ecce non erat: et quaesivi eum,* G., Am. (M. XXV. 1009),—*erat*], Com.
—omit third *et*—, Is. (M. XXIV. 349).
—omit *ecce*—, Is. (M. XXIV. 410).
—omit first and third *et*—, R.
—*pertransivi*], Na. (M. XXV. 1237).
39. *salus autem justorum,* R., G.
—*enim*—, Pel. (M. XXIII. 556).

XXXVII. 2. *ne in ira tua arguas me, neque in furore tuo corripias me,* R., Hom. (M. XXV. 601).
—*in furore tuo—in ira tua*—, G., Jer. (pp. 139, 374), Za. (M. XXV. 1420),—*arguas me*], Com.
5. *iniquitates meae supergressae sunt caput meum,* G., Is. (M. XXIV. 86), Ezech. (M. XXV. 313).

—*superposuerunt caput*—, R.
—*aggravatae sunt super me,* Mat. (M. XXVI. 75).
—*elevatae sunt supra caput*—, Is. (M. XXIV. 573).
elevatae sunt iniquitates meae super caput—, Is. (M. XXIV. 28).
et sicut onus grave gravatae sunt, Ezech. (M. XXV. 313).
omit *et*—, R., G., Eccl. (M. XXIII. 1086), Is. (M. XXIV. 86), So. (M. XXV. 1358).
quasi onus—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 212).
quasi onus—aggravatae sunt, H., Is. (M. XXIV. 573), Na. (M. XXV. 1250).
quasi onus—ingravatae sunt, Is. (M. XXIV. 28).

6. *putruerunt et corruptae sunt cicatrices meae,* G., Hom. (M. XXIII. 1121), Is. (M. XXIV. 71), Am. (M. XXV. 1032, 1053), Mal. (M. XXV. 1555).
computruerunt—, Com., Hom. (M. XXIII. 1131), Is. (M. XXIV. 224), Ezech. (M. XXV. 62, 127).
computruerunt et deterioraverunt—, R.
computruerunt cicatrices meae, Pel. (M. XXIII. 584).

7. *miseriis afflictus sum et curvatus sum usque in finem,* R.
miser factus sum et—, G.
afflictus sum et incurvatus usque ad finem, Is. (M. XXIV. 564).
afflictus sum et incurvatus sum nimis, H.
tota die contristatus ingrediebar, R., G.
—*incedebam,* Is. (M. XXIV. 564).

—*tristis*—, Is. (M. XXIV. 559), Mal. (M. XXV. 1573).

8. *lumbi mei impleti sunt illusionibus,* G., Jer. (p. 14), Pel. (M. XXIII. 584), Is. (M. XXIV. 261), Ezech. (M. XXV. 133).
—*repleti sunt*—, Is. (M. XXIV. 336), Ezech. (M. XXV.469).
renes mei—, Pel. (M. XXIII. 556).
anima mea completa est—, R.

14. *ego autem tamquam surdus non audiebam, et sicut mutus non aperiens os suum,* G.
—*quasi surdus—quasi mutus*—, Ep. CVIII (p. 330).
—*vero—tamquam mutus*—, Ep. XVII (p. 70).
—*velut surdus—qui non aperit*—, R.

15. *ut homo non audiens et non habens in ore suo increpationes,* R., —*audiens*], Ep. XVII (p. 70).
sicut homo—redargutiones, G.
quasi homo—nec habens—, Jer. (p. 345), Apol. (M. XXIII. 424).
et non habens—correptiones, Com.

XXXVIII. 2. *cum consisteret peccator adversum me,* G.
—*adversum me peccator,* Ep. XVII (p. 70), Ep. CVIII (p. 330), Jer. (p. 150), Apol. (M. XXIII. 424), Is. (M. XXIV. 382).
dum consistit peccator adversus me, R.

3. *obmutui et humiliatus sum,* R., G., Ep. XVIII (p. 70), Ep. CVIII (p. 330), Apol. (M. XXIII. 424), Is. (M. XXIV. 382).

omit *et humiliatus sum,* Jer. (p. 150).
silui a bonis, R., G., Ep. XVIII (p. 70), Ep. CVIII (p. 330), Apol. (M. XXIII. 424).
—de bonis, Jer. (p. 150).
tacui de bonis, Is. (M. XXIV. 382).
tacui de bono, H.

7. *verumtamen in imagine pertransit homo,* G.
—perambulat—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 80, 140).
—perambulat omnis homo, Ep. LI (p. 408).
in imagine enim perambulat—, Eccl. (M. XXIII. 1079).
—perambulabat—, Pel. (M. XXIII. 537).
quamquam—ambulat—, R.
sed et frustra conturbatur, G.
verumtamen frustra—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 140).
vane conturbabitur, R.

13. *advena sum ego et peregrinus,* Ezech. (M. XXV. 366, 441), Jon. (M. XXV. 1127), Mal. (M. XXV. 1555).
*—*omit *ego—,* Ezech. (M. XXV. 56, 143), Jo. (M. XXV. 951).
—ego sum—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 383), Za. (M. XXV. 1536).
*—*omit *ego— peregrina,* Ep. CVIII (p. 307).
—ego in terra—, So. (M. XXV. 1356).
—ego sum in terra—, Is. (M. XXIV. 304).
—ego sum super terram—, Jer. (p. 13).
—sum apud te—, Ep. LXXI (p. 3).
—ego sum apud te—, G.

accola sum et—, Is. (M. XXIV. 230).
incola ego sum apud te in terra—, R.

14. *remitte mihi ut refrigerer priusquam abeam, et amplius non ero*, G.
—priusquam eam—, R.
dimitte—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 246).
ignosce—et ultra non subsistam, Is. (M. XXIV. 632).

XXXIX. 3. *statuit supra petram pedes meos*, R., Is. (M. XXIV. 483), Ezech. (M. XXV. 32), Hom. (M. XXV. 711), Am. (M. XXV. 1055), Abd. (M. XXV. 1103).
—super petram—, G., So. (M. XXV. 1349), Mat. (M. XXVI. 50).
super petram statuit—, Hom. (M. XXV. 678).

4. *immisit in os meum canticum novum, carmen deo nostro*, G.
—hymnum deo nostro, R.
misit in ore meo—hymnum deo nostro, Is. (M. XXIV. 490).
dedit in ore meo—laudem deo nostro, H.

8. *in capite libri*, R., G., Com.
—capitulo—, H. Q. (M. XXIII. 938), Eccl. (M. XXIII. 1115), Is. (M. XXIV. 332), Ezech. (M. XXV. 34).

9. *ut facerem voluntatem tuam, deus meus*, G., Mat. (M. XXVI. 199),—or *faciam —*, R.
—omit *deus meus*, Is. (M. XXIV. 640).
domine, ut—omit *deus meus*, Jon. (M. XXV. 1130).
deus, ut—omit *deus meus*, Is. (M. XXIV. 413).

deus, ut faciam—omit *deus meus,* Is. (M. XXIV. 453).

17. *diligunt salutare tuum,* R., G.
—*salutare ejus,* Pach. (M. XXIII. 90).

18. *ego autem mendicus sum et pauper,* G., Ep. CXX (p. 474).
—*vero egenus et pauper sum,* R.
dominus sollicitus est mei, G.
—*est pro me,* Ep. CXX (p. 474).
—*erit pro me,* H.
—*curam habet mei,* R.

LX. 4. *universum stratum ejus versasti,* R., G.
totum lectum meum versasti, Ep. CVIII (p. 307).

9. *numquid, qui dormit, non adjiciet, ut resurgat,* R., G., Com.
—*qui dormit, non resurget,* Ep. CXIX (p. 457).

XLI. 2. *sicut cervus desiderat,* R., Ep. CVIII (p. 339), Am. (M. XXV. 1030).
—*desiderat cervus,* Is. (M. XXIV. 373).
quemadmodum desiderat cervus, G.

3. *sitivit anima mea ad deum fortem, vivum,* G., Ep. CVIII (p. 339), Is. (M. XXIV. 296).
—*ad deum vivum,* R.
—*ad deum viventem,* Is. (M. XXIV. 529).
apparebo ante faciem dei, R., G.
parebo—, Ep. CVIII (p. 339).

4. *ubi est deus tuus,* R., G.
—*dominus deus*—, Mi. (M. XXV. 1230).

5. *quoniam transibo in locum tabernaculi,* G., Ep. LXXVIII (p. 75).

—*ingrediar*—, R.
quia—, Ep. LXV (p. 643).
pertransibo—, Is. (M. XXIV. 517), Za. (M. XXV. 1536).
donec transeam in loco—, Ep. LXXVIII (p. 50).
sonus epulantis, R., G., Ep. LXXVIII (p. 50).
sonitu festa celebrantium, Ep. LXV (p. 644).
multitudinis festa celebrantis, H.

6. *spera in deo, quoniam adhuc confitebor illi*, G.
—omit *adhuc*—, R.
—*in domino*—omit *adhuc*—, Ep. XXII (p. 152).
—*in deum*—omit *adhuc*—, Ep. CVIII (p. 332).

XLIII. 3. *manus tua gentes disperdidit*, R., G.
—*interfecit*, Is. (M. XXIV. 663).

6. *inimicos nostros ventilabimus cornu*, G., Ezech. (M. XXV. 307), Ab. (M. XXV. 1314).
—*cornu ventilabimus*, Is. (M. XXIV. 76, 602).
—omit *cornu*, R.

16. *confusio vultus mei operuit me*, R., Mal. (M. XXV. 1555).
—*faciei meae cooperuit*—, G.

18. *et obliti non sumus te, et inique non egimus in testamento tuo*, R.
nec—, G.
et non sumus obliti tui, nec inique egimus

in testamentum tuum, Ep. CVIII (p. 334).

19. *et non recessit retro cor nostrum,* R., G.
nec aversum est retrorsum—, Ep. CVIII (p 334).
declinasti semitas nostras a via tua, R., G.
declinare fecisti semitas—, Is. (M. XXIV. 619).
declinare fecisti vias nostras a viis tuis, Is. (M. XXIV. 553).

20. *quoniam humiliasti nos,* R., G.
et humiliasti—, Is. (M. XXIV. 619).
operuit nos umbra mortis, R., Pach. (M. XXIII. 91).
cooperuit—, G.

21. *si obliti sumus nomen dei nostri, et si expandimus manus,* R., G.
et non sumus obliti nominis—omit *et—,* Pach. (M. XXIII. 91).

23. *exsurge, quare obdormis, domine,* R., G., Am. (M. XXV. 1070).
—ut quid dormis—, Ep. CVIII (p. 346), Is. (M. XXIV. 443), Za. (M. XXV. 1434).
—ut quid dormitas—, Ep. CIX (p. 355).
consurge, quare dormitas—, H.
surge, cur dormis—, Jer. (p. 176).

25. *in pulvere anima nostra, adhaesit in terra venter noster,* R.
—anima mea, adhaesit terrae venter meus, Is. (M. XXIV. 497).
—conglutinatus est in terra—, G.

XLIV. 1. *pro his,* R., Com. Ep. LXV (p. 619).
—iis, G.

filiis Core, ad intellectum, R., G.
filiorum—in intelligentiam, Ep. LXV (p. 619).

2. *eructavit cor meum,* R., G., Ep. XXI (p. 129), Ep. LXXI (p. 7).
eructuavit—, Ep. LXV (p. 621), Ep. CVIII (p. 339).

3. *speciosus forma,* R., G., Ep. LXV (pp. 624, 625), Is. (M. XXIV. 311, 501).
formosus decore, Is. (M. XXIV. 611).
decore pulchrior, H.
diffusa est gratia, R., G.
effusa—, H., Ep. LXV (p. 625), Ezech. (M. XXV. 90).

4. *accingere gladio tuo super femur tuum, potentissime,* G., Ep. LXV (p. 627), Is. (M. XXIV. 611), Za. (M. XXV. 1487).
—omit *tuum—,* Ep. LXV (p. 636).
—gladium tuum circa—, Hom. (M. XXV. 781).
—gladium tuum circa—omit *tuum—,* R.

5. *specie tua et pulchritudine tua,* R., G., Ep. LXV (p. 627), Is. (M. XXIV. 611), Za. (M. XXV. 1487).
specie tua et decore tuo et puchritudine tua, Hom. (M. XXV. 781).
gloria tua et decore tuo, H.
intende, prospere procede, G., Is. (M. XXIV. 611), Za. (M. XXV. 1487).
intende et—, R.
et intende—, Ep. LXV (p. 628).

6. *sagittae tuae acutae, potentissime,* R., Ep. LXV (p. 629), Is. (M. XXIV. 464), Za. (M. XXV. 1486).
—omit *potentissime,* G.

in corde inimicorum, R., Ep. LXV (p. 629).

—corda—, G.

7. *virga directionis,* G., Ep. LXV (p. 631), Is. (M. XXIV. 307).

virga recta est, R.

8. *oleo laetitiae prae consortibus tuis,* R., G., Ep. LXV (p. 631), Jer. (p. 386), Dan. (M. XXV. 552).

—participibus tuis, Ab. (M. XXV. 1326), Mat. (M. XXVI. 44).

—exsultationis—, Is. (M. XXIV. 599), Ezech. (M. XXV. 131).

—exsultationis—participibus—, H., Eccl. (M. XXIII. 1085), Hom. (M. XXIII. 1120), Ezech. (M. XXV. 444), Ab. (M. XXV. 1325).

9. *myrrha et gutta et casia,* R., G., Ep. LXV (p. 633).

—et stilla—, Hom. (M. XXIII. 1132).

a domibus eburneis ex quibus delectaverunt te, G., Ep. LXV (p. 633), Ezech. (M. XXV. 255).

—gradibus eburneis—te delectaverunt, R.

—domibus elephantinis — laetificaverunt te, Hom. (M. XXIII. 1132), [*ex quibus—,* Ep. LXV (p. 635).

de—omit *ex—laetificaverunt te,* H.,—*eburneis*], Ep. LXV (p. 635).

10. *circumdata varietate,* G., Ep. XXII (p. 151), Ep. LXV (p. 636), Is. (M. XXIV. 280,471), Ezech. (M. XXV. 132, 137, 485), Za. (M. XXV. 1534).

circumamicta varietatibus, R.

11. *obliviscere populum tuum,* R., G., Ep. XXII (p. 143), Ep. LIV (p. 468), Ep. LXV (pp. 637, 644, 645), Ezech. (M. XXV. 126, 179).
—*populi tui,* H., Is. (M. XXIV. 280).
dimitte—, Ep. LXV (p. 639).
12. *et concupiscet rex decorem tuum,* G., Ep. XXII (pp. 143, 145), Ep. LIV (p. 468), Ep. LXV (p. 637), Ezech. (M. XXV. 126, 179).
quia—, Is. (M. XXIV. 280).
quoniam concupivit rex speciem tuam, R.
quia ipse est dominus deus tuus, R., Ep. LIV (p. 468).
quoniam—, G.
quoniam—omit *deus—,* Ep. LXV (p. 637).
13. *et filiae Tyri,* G.
omit *et—,* R., Is. (M. XXIV. 280), Za. (M. XXV. 1480).
omit *et—filia—,* Ep. LXV (p. 639).
vultum tuum deprecabuntur omnes divites plebis, R., G.
—omit *omnes—,* Ep. LXV (p. 639).
faciem tuam precabuntur—omit *omnes—,* Is. (M. XXIV. 280).
faciem tuam—omit *omnes—populi,* H.
14. *omnis gloria ejus filiae regis ab intus,* G., Ep. LXV (p. 641).
—*filiae regum—,* R., Dan. (M. XXV. 556).
—omit *ejus—,* Ep. CVII (p. 298), Ezech. (M. XXV. 35).
—omit *ejus—regis intrinsecus,* H., Joan. (M. XXIII. 379), Is. (M. XXIV. 280).

omnis enim—omit *ejus—intrinsecus,* Ezech. (M. XXV. 212).

15. *circumamicta varietatibus,* G., Ep. LXV (p. 641).
—*varietate,* R., Ep. LXV (p. 644).
16. *afferentur tibi, afferentur in laetitia,* G., Ep. LXV (p. 642), Za. (M. XXV. 1489).
—omit second *afferentur*—, R.
18. *memores erunt nominis tui,* R., G.
memor ero—, Ep. LXV (pp. 645, 646).

XLV. 3. *dum turbabitur terra, et transferentur montes in cor maris,* R., G., Mat. (M. XXVI. 154).
cum conturbata fuerit—translati—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 247).
4. *aquae eorum,* G., Ezech. (M. XXV. 247).
—*ejus,* R.
11. *quoniam ego sum deus,* R., G., Pach. (M. XXIII. 89).
quia—, Pach. (M. XXIII. 90).

XLVI. 5. *elegit nobis haereditatem suam, speciem Jacob,* G.
—*pulchritudinem Jacob,* Is. (M. XXIV. 551), Za. (M. XXV. 1443).
—*nos in haereditatem sibi*—, R.

XLVII. 2. *monte sancto ejus,* R., G., Za. (M. XXV. 1431).
—*suo,* H., Za. (M. XXV. 1464).
3. *mons Sion.,* R., G., Jov. (M. XXIII. 240).
montes—, Com., Is. (M. XXIV. 162).
7. *tremor apprehendit eos,* R., G.

—*apprehendit impios,* Is. (M. XXIV. 526).

8. *spiritu vehementi conteres naves,* R., G.
—*confringes*—, Com., Jon. (M. XXV. 1122).
—*violento*—, Ep. XXXVII (p. 287), Did. (M. XXIII. 147), Ezech. (M. XXV. 19).
—*violento confringes*—, Is. (M. XXIV. 52), Dan. (M. XXV. 554).

9. *sicut audivimus, ita et vidimus in civitate domini virtutum, in civitate dei nostri,* R., Ep. LX (p. 555).
—omit *et*—, Is. (M. XXIV. 523).
—*sic vidimus*—, G.
quaecumque audivimus et vidimus in civitate dei nostri, Ep. XXIII (p. 213).

11. *secundum nomen tuum, deus, ita et laus tua in fines terrae,* R.
—*sic et laus*—, G.
sicut nomen—in universa terra, Za. (M. XXV. 1530).

15. *ipse reget nos in saecula,* R., G.
—*pascet*—, Is. (M. XXIV. 638).

XLVIII. 12. *vocaverunt nomina sua in terris suis,* G., Ep. C (p. 215).
invocabunt nomina eorum in terris ipsorum, R.

13(21). *homo cum in honore esset, non intellexit,* R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 340), Ezech. (M. XXV. 119), So. (M. XXV. 1342).
homo enim cum—, Is. (M. XXIV. 476).
homo enim cum—intelligit, Ezech. (M. XXV. 306).

comparatus est jumentis insipientibus et similis factus est illis, R., G., Ep. XCVIII (p. 189), Is. (M. XXIV. 340), Ezech. (M. XXV. 119), Ezech. (M. XXV. 306), So. (M. XXV. 1342).
—eis, Is. (M. XXIV. 476).

XLIX. 1. *a solis ortu,* R., G.
ab ortu solis, H., Za. (M. XXV. 1468).
2. *ex Sion species decoris ejus,* R., G.
de Sion decor pulchritudinis ejus, Za. (M. XXV. 1468).
3. *deus manifestus veniet, deus noster, et non silebit,* R., Is. (M. XXIV. 352).
—manifeste—, G., Is. (M. XXIV. 352).
—manifeste—tacebit, Is. (M. XXIV. 664).
ignis in conspectu ejus ardebit, R., Is. (M. XXIV. 352).
—exardescet, G.
—ante eum—, Is. (M. XXIV. 664).
11. *pulchritudo agri mecum est,* G., Is. (M. XXIV. 34).
species—, R.
13. *numquid manducabo carnes taurorum, aut sanguinem hircorum potabo,* R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 34).
—comedam—bibam, H., Pach. (M. XXIII. 92).
16. *quare tu enarras justitias meas et assumis testamentum meum,* R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 96), Am. (M. XXV. 1064).
ut quid—, Ep. LXV (p. 623).
ut quid tu assumis testamentum meum, Ezech. (M. XXV. 160).

17. *tu vero odisti disciplinam, et projecisti sermones meos post te,* R.
—*autem*—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 84).
—*sermones meos retrorsum,* G.

18. *videbas furem, simul currebas cum eo,* R.
—omit *simul*—, G.
—*et currebas*—, Is. (M. XXIV. 39).
—*et concurrebas*—, Ep. CIX (p. 353).

20. *adversus fratrem tuum loquebaris,* G., Ep. LII (p. 437), Apol. (M. XXIII. 424), Is. (M. XXIV. 628).
adversum—detrahebas, R.

21. *existimasti inique, quod ero tui similis,* G., Apol. (M. XXIII. 424), Is. (M. XXIV. 629).
—*iniquitatem, quod ero tibi*—, R., Ep. LII (p. 437).
statuam illam contra faciem, R.
—omit *illam*—, G., Ep. LII (p. 437), Apol. (M. XXIII. 424).
ponam contra faciem, Is. (M. XXIV. 629).

L. 4. *amplius lava me ab iniquitate mea,* G.
—*injustitia*—, R.
magis magisque—, Mi. (M. XXV. 1210).

5. *iniquitatem meam ego cognosco, et peccatum meum contra me est semper,* G.
—*coram me*—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 125).
—*agnosco— delictum—coram me*—, R.
iniquitates meas—delictum—, Mi. (M. XXV. 1210).

6. *vincas, cum judicaris,* G., Com., Jer. (pp. 21, 147), Hom. (M. XXV. 758).
—*dum*—, R.

—*fueris judicatus,* Is. (M. XXIV. 433, 664).
—*judicatus fueris,* H.

7. *ecce enim in iniquitatibus,* R., G., Ep. XXI (p. 132), Ezech. (M. XXV. 470).
—omit *enim*—, Jov. (M. XXIII. 284).
in peccatis concepit me, G., Com., Ezech. (M. XXV. 470).
—*delictis*—, Ep. XXI (p. 132), Jov. (M. XXIII. 284), Ezech. (M. XXV. 127).
—*delictis peperit*—, R.

19. *sacrificium enim deo,* Na. (M. XXV. 1237).
—omit *enim*—, R., G., Jer. (p. 276), Eccl. (M. XXIII. 1080), Is. (M. XXIV. 233, 257, 433, 557), Jo. (M. XXV. 957).
sacrificium domino, Jer. (p. 219).
cor enim contritum et humiliatum deus non spernit, Ezech. (M. XXV. 330).
—omit *enim*—, R., Jer. (p. 276).
—omit *enim—spernet,* Na. (M. XXV. 1237).
—omit *enim—despicies,* G., Is. (M. XXIV. 642).
—omit *enim—despicit,* Is. (M. XXIV. 433, 557, 599), Na. (M. XXV. 1272).
—omit *enim—despiciet,* Is. (M. XXIV. 233), So. (M. XXV. 1383).

20. *benigne fac, domine, in bona voluntate tua Sion, ut aedificentur muri Jerusalem,* R., G.
bene fac—et aedificentur—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 158).
bene fac—omit *bona—et aedificentur*—, H.

LII. 5. *qui devorant plebem meam sicut escam panis,* R., *—meam*], Is. (M. XXIV. 355).
quid—, Am. (M. XXV. 1002).
—ut cibum panis, G.
—populum meum—cibum panis, Za. (M. XXV. 1500).
6. *dominum non invocaverunt,* R., Is. (M. XXIV. 355).
deum—, R., G.
7. *cum converterit deus captivitatem plebis suae,* G.
—dominus—populi sui, Za. (M. XXV. 1434).
—reduxerit—populi sui, H.
dum avertet dominus—, R.

LIV. 9. *salvum me fecit, a pusillanimitate spiritus,* G., Ep. LXXI (p. 2).
me salvum faceret, a pusillo animo, R.
14. *tu vero homo unanimis,* R., G.
—autem—, Is. (M. XXIV. 360).
16. *descendant in infernum,* R., G., Ep. XCVI (p. 165).
—ad—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 375).

LV. 2. *miserere mei, deus,* G.
—domine, Ezech. (M. XXV. 307).
—mihi, domine, R.
5. *deo speravi, non timebo quid faciat mihi caro,* G.
domino sperabo—, Is. (M. XXIV. 490).
—sperabo—homo, R.
8. *salvos facies eos,* R.
—illos, G.

—*faciet*—, Pel. (M. XXIII. 556).

13. *ut placeam coram deo in lumine viventium*, G.
—*coram domino*—, R.
placebo domino—, (cf. CXIV. 9), Is. (M. XXIV. 393).

LVI. 2. *miserere mei, deus*, R., G.
—*domine*, Ep. XXII (p. 190).

5. *lingua eorum gladius acutus*, G., Ezech. (M. XXV. 290), Abd. (M. XXV. 1107).
—*machaera acuta*, R.

8. *cantabo et psalmum dicam domino*, R.
—omit *domino*, G.
—*et psallam*, H.
—*et psallam in gloria mea*, Ep. CXII (p. 369).

9. *exsurge, gloria mea, et exsurge, psalterium*, Is. (M. XXIV. 465).
—omit *et*—, R., G., Ep. CXX (p. 498).
exsurgam diluculo, R., G., Ep. CXII (p. 369), Ep. CXX (p. 498).
consurgam—, Os. (M. XXV. 868).

LVII. 4. *alienati sunt peccatores a vulva, erraverunt ab utero*, G., Apol. (M. XXIII. 490), Pel. (M. XXIII. 538), Is. (M. XXIV. 62), —*vulva*], Com.
—*ab utero*—*a ventre*, R.
—*sunt enim*—*a ventre*, Eccl. (M. XXIII. 1078).

5. *furor illis secundum similitudinem serpentis*, G., Apol. (M. XXIII. 490), Ezech. (M. XXV. 80).

ira illis—, R.
furor eorum juxta—, Is. (M. XXIV. 62).

6. *exaudiet vocem,* R., G., Ezech. (M. XXV. 80).
audiat—, Apol. (M. XXIII. 490).
exaudit—, Is. (M. XXIV. 62).
venefici incantantis sapienter, G., Apol. (M. XXIII. 490).
—*medicantis*—, Is. (M. XXIV. 62).
malefici—, Na. (M. XXV. 1257).
veneficia quae incantantur a sapiente, R.

8. *tamquam aqua decurrens,* G., Apol. (M. XXIII. 490).
velut—, R.

9. *sicut cera quae fluit, auferentur, supercecidit ignis,* G., Apol. (M. XXIII. 490).
—*cera liquefacta—super eos cecidit*—, R.

11. *cum viderit vindictam impiorum,* R., Apol. (M. XXIII. 490).
—omit *impiorum,* G.
in sanguine peccatoris, G., Apol. (M. XXIII. 491).
—*peccatorum,* R.

LVIII. 12. *ne occidas eos, ne quando obliviscantur populi mei,* G., Os. (M. XXV. 901).
—*occideris—legis tuae,* R.
et non—illos, ne forte—nominis tui, Com.
disperge illos, R., G., Os. (M. XXV. 901).
—*eos,* Com.

15. *ad vesperam,* G., Com., Is. (M. XXIV. 83).
—*vesperum,* R.

16. *si vero non fuerint saturati, et murmurabunt,* G.
—omit *et*—, R.
si saturati non fuerint—omit *et*—, Jo. (M. XXV. 960).
et cum non—omit *et*—, Is. (M. XXIV. 123).
et cum saturati non fuerint—omit *et*—, H.

LIX. 6. *significationem, ut fugiant,* R., G.
—*ut fugerent,* Is. (M. XXIV. 668).
signum ut fugerent, H.
10. *alienigenae subditi sunt,* G., Is. (M. XXIV. 47).
—*servient,* Is. (M. XXIV. 151).
allophyli—, R.

LX. 4. *quoniam factus es spes mea,* R., Za. (M. XXV. 1531).
quia—, G.

LXI. 2. *deo subjecta erit anima,* G., Ep. LV (p. 490).
—*est*—, Hom. (M. XXV. 706).
deo soli subjecta—, Pel. (M. XXIII. 512).
—*subdita*—, R.
ab ipso enim est salutare meum, Pel. (M. XXIII. 512).
—omit *est*—, R., G.
apud ipsum—omit *est*—, Hom. (M. XXV. 706).
13. *unicuique juxta opera sua,* G., Is. (M. XXIV. 492).
singulis secundum opera eorum, R.

LXII. 2. *sitivit in te anima mea,* R., G., Com., Ep. CVIII (p. 337), Is. (M. XXIV. 620), Os. (M. XXV. 868).
—*anima mea ad te,* Ezech. (M. XXV. 144).
multipliciter tibi et caro mea, R.
—omit *et*—, G., Is. (M. XXIV. 620), Ezech. (M. XXV. 144).
—omit *tibi*—, Ep. CVIII (p. 337).
—omit *tibi et*—, Com.

3. *in terra deserta et invia et inaquosa,* G., Ep. LXXI (p. 2).
in deserto et in invio et inaquoso, R.
—*et sine aqua,* Ep. LXXV (p. 30).
—*terra invia et consitiente ac sine aqua,* H.

9. *me suscepit dextera tua,* R., G.
suscepit me dextera tua, Jer. (p. 47).

10. *introibunt in inferiora terrae,* R., G., Ezech. (M. XXV. 110, 245).
intrabunt—, Jon. (M. XXV. 1135).
ingredientur—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 313).
ingredientur ad extrema—, Is. (M. XXIV. 281), Ezech. (M. XXV. 303).
ingrediantur in extrema—, H.

LXIV. 10. *flumen dei repletum est aquis,* G., Is. (M. XXIV. 360, 661), Ezech. (M. XXV. 472).
—*aqua,* R.
fluvius—repletus—, Is. (M. XXIV. 349).
parasti cibum illorum, quia ita est praeparatio tua, R.
—*quoniam—praeparatio ejus,* G.

praeparasti—eorum—sic est—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 472).

LXV. 6. *in flumine pertransibunt*, G., Za. (M. XXV. 1498).
et flumina—, R.

LXVII. 3. *sicut fluit cera*, R., G.
—consumitur—, (M. XXIV. 621).

5. *cantate deo*, R., G.
—domino, Am. (M. XXV. 1068).
super occasum, R., G., Trac., Is. (M. XXIV. 215), Am. (M. XXV. 1068).
—occidentem, Ezech. (M. XXV. 385).
dominus nomen est illi, Trac.
—ei, R.
—omit *est—*, G., Am. (M. XXV. 1068).
—omit *est—ejus*, Is. (M. XXIV. 215), Ezech. (M. XXV. 385).

7. *deus qui habitare facit unanimes in domo*, R., G.
—omit *qui—inhabitare—unius moris—*, Trac.
dominus—omit *qui—unius moris—*, Ep. LXXVIII (p. 70).

10. *pluviam voluntariam segregabis*, G., Trac., Jer. (p. 133), Ezech. (M. XXV. 213).
—segregans, R.
—separabis, Com.

12. *dabit verbum evangelizantibus, virtute multa*, R., G., Ep. CXII (p. 369), Ep. CXX (p. 494), Is. (M. XXIV. 75, 404), Mi. (M. XXV. 1189), Za. (M. XXV. 1455).

—*verba evangelizanti*—, Hom. (M. XXV. 597).
—*evangelizanti virtutem multam,* Ag. (M. XXV. 1416).
—*virtutem multam,* Trac.
—omit *verbum—virtutem multam,* Com.

14. *si dormiatis inter medios cleros, pennae columbae deargentatae,* R., G., Trac., Ep. CXX (p. 477), Ezech. (M. XXV. 70, 212), Os. (M. XXV. 832).
—*dormieris*—, Com.
—*dormieritis*—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 63).
—*dormieritis—medios terminos*—, H.
inter medios cleros pinnae deargentatae columbae, Ep. LXVI (p. 660).
posteriora dorsi ejus in pallore auri, G., Trac., Ep. CXX (p. 477), Ezech. (M. XXV. 63, 70).
—*specie auri,* R.
posteriora sive *interiora—virore* aut *pallore*—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 212).
—*virore*—, Os. (M. XXV. 832).
—omit *dorsi—virore*—, H.
—omit *dorsi—viriditate*—, Com.
interiora — omit *dorsi* — *fulgore* —, Ep. LXVI (p. 660).

18. *decem millibus,* G., Trac., Jer. (p. 218), Is. (M. XXIV. 664), Dan. (M. XXV. 532).
—*millium,* R., Jer. (p. 413), Ezech. (M. XXV. 416).
dominus in eis, G., Dan. (M. XXV. 532).
—*illis,* R.

19. *ascendens in altum, captivam duxit captivitatem,* R., Ezech. (M. XXV. 309),

Jon. (M. XXV. 1135), Mi. (M. XXV 1168).
—*in excelsum*—, Mat. (M. XXVI. 25).
ascendisti—excelsum—duxisti—, H.
ascendisti—cepisti captivitatem, G., Trac.
accepisti dona in hominibus, G., Trac.
accepit—, Mat. (M. XXVI. 25).
accepit—omit *in*—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 309).
dedit—omit *in*—, R.

23. *ex Basan convertam, convertam in profundum maris*, G., *ex Basan convertam*], Com.
—*in profundis*—, Trac.
—*convertar, convertar*—, R.
de Basan—de profundis—, H.
de Basan convertam de profundo maris, Ezech. (M. XXV. 249).

24. *ut intingatur pes*, G., Is. (M. XXIV. 610).
donec—, R.
—*intinguatur*—, Com., Trac.

27. *benedicite dominum deum*, R., Is. (M. XXIV. 417).
—*deum dominum*, Trac.
—omit *deum*, Is. (M. XXIV. 124, 348).
—*dominum dominus*, Com.
—*deo domino*, G., Is. (M. XXIV. 153).
—*domino*, Is. (M. XXIV. 376, 469).

28. *Benjamin adolescentior*, R., Is. (M. XXIV. 124).
—*adolescentulus*, G., Trac.

31. *increpa, domine, bestiis calami*, Ep. CVIII (p. 340).
—omit *domine—bestias*—, Com.
—omit *domine—bestiam*—, H.

—omit *domine—feras a r u n d i n i s,* G., Trac.
—omit *domine—feras silvarum,* R.
congregatio taurorum in vaccis, G., Is. (M. XXIV. 347).
concilium—inter vaccas, R.
dissipa, domine, gentes, Ezech. (M. XXV. 359), Mat. (M. XXVI. 67).
—omit *domine—*, R., G., Trac., Is. (M. XXIV. 313, 661), Ezech. (M. XXV. 292).

32. *psallite domino, psallite deo, qui ascendit super coelum coeli,* G., [*qui—*, Trac.
—*coelos coelorum,* R.
—omit *psallite deo—*, Ezech. (M. XXV. 385), Am. (M. XXV. 1068).

LXVIII. 2. *salvum me fac, deus,* R., G., Com.
—*fac, domine,* Jon. (M. XXV. 1135).

3. *in limum profundi,* R., Za. (M. XXV. 1485).
—*limo—*, R., G., So. (M. XXV. 1349).
veni in altitudinem maris, et tempestas demersit me, R., G.
—*in profundum—*, Ezech. (M. XXV. 300, 473).
—*in profundum—absorbuit—*, Is. (M. XXIV. 237).

8. *operuit reverentia faciem meam,* R.
—*confusio—*, G.
confusio vultus mei operuit me, Abd. (M. XXV. 1107).

12. *factus sum illis in parabolam,* R., G.
—*eis—*, H., Ep. XXVII (p. 225), Ezech. (M. XXV. 108).

13. *in me psallebant, qui bibebant vinum,* R., G.
psallebant contra me qui—, Ep. CXVII (p. 423).
16. *neque urgeat,* R., G.
ne—, Jon. (M. XXV. 1135).
21. *sustinui qui simul mecum contristaretur, et non fuit, consolantem me quaesivi,* R.
—omit *mecum—fuit, et qui consolaretur,* G.
expectavi qui contristaretur et non fuit, et qui consolaretur, H., Is. (M. XXIV. 613).
22. *in escam meam fel, et in siti mea,* R., G., Com., Mat. (M. XXVI. 210).
in cibum meum—omit second *in*—, Is. (M. XXIV. 89).
24. *ne videant,* R., G.
ut non—, Com.
25. *furor irae tuae conprehendat eos,* G., Os. (M. XXV. 863).
indignatio—apprehendat—, R.
27. *ipsi persecuti sunt, et super dolorem vulnerum meorum addiderunt,* R., Is. (M. XXIV. 257),—*sunt*], Is. (M. XXIV. 560).
omit *ipsi—,* G.
—*adjiciebant,* Za. (M. XXV. 1520).
36. *aedificabuntur civitates Judae, et inhabitabunt ibi, et haereditate aquirent eam,* R.
—*Juda—inhabitabunt tibi—,* G.
—*et habitabunt et commorabuntur ibi,* Ezech. (M. XXV. 158).

LXX. 1. *priorum captivorum,* R., G.
eorum qui primi in captivitatem ducti sunt, Ep. LVIII (p. 534).

14. *semper in te sperabo,* R.
—omit *in te—,* G.
sperabo in te semper, Pach. (M. XXIII. 90).

15. *justitiam tuam, domine,* Is. (M. XXIV. 669).
—omit *domine,* R., G.

17. *deus, docuisti me,* R., G.
docuisti me, deus, Did. (M. XXIII. 130).

24. *tota die meditabitur justitiam tuam,* G.
omit *tota die—,* R.
meditabitur justitiam tuam, tota die laudem tuam, Za. (M. XXV. 1533).

LXXI. 4. *qui judicabit pauperes populi,* Is. (M. XXIV. 336).
omit *qui—,* G.
omit *qui—hujus populi,* R.

5. *permanebit cum sole,* R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 674).
permanet—, Com.
in generationem et generationem, G.
—generationes generationum, Is. (M. XXIV. 674).
—generatione generationum, H.
generationis generationum, Com., Dan. (M. XXV. 565).
—saeculum saeculi, R.

7. *abundantia pacis, donec auferatur luna,* G.
—donec extollatur—, R.

multitudo—, Is. (M. XXIV. 128, 500).
multitudo—donec non sit—, H.

8. *dominabitur a mari usque ad mare, et a flumine usque ad terminos orbis terrarum*, G.
—terrae, R.
—ad terrae terminos, Za. (M. XXV. 1485).
—ad finem (fines) orbis terrae, Is. (M. XXIV. 312).
potestas ejus a mari—a fluminibus—ad fines terrae, Za. (M. XXV. 1484).

9. *coram illo procident Aethiopes*, R., G.
in conspectu ejus procident—, Is. (M. XXIV. 44), Am. (M. XXV. 1091), So. (M. XXV. 1339).

19. *replebitur majestate ejus omnis terra*, R., G.
implebitur gloria ejus—, Is. (M. XXIV. 94).
implebitur gloria—universa terra, H.

20. *hymni David*, R., Com., Ep. XXIII (p. 211).
laudes—, G.

LXXII. 1. *psalmus Asaph*, G., Com., Ep. XXIII (p. 211).
—David, R.
quam bonus deus Israel, R., Jer. (p. 152), Did. (M. XXIII. 141).
—Israel deus, G., Mal. (M. XXV. 1563).

2. *mei autem pene moti sunt pedes*, R., G., Jer. (pp. 51, 152), Is. (M. XXIV. 222, 277, 297), Ab. (M. XXV. 1275), Mal. (M. XXV. 1563).

—*vero*—, Jov. (M. XXIII. 240).
—omit *autem*—, Ep. XXXIX (p. 296).

5. *in labore hominum*, G., Os. (M. XXV. 853), Mi. (M. XXV. 1203).
—*laboribus*—, R.

7. *in affectum cordis*, G., Com., Mat. (M. XXVI. 38).
—*dispositionem*—, R.

9. *posuerunt in coelum*, R., G., Abd. (M. XXV. 1104).
—*in excelsum*, Jer. (p. 206).
transivit super terram, R., Jer. (p. 206).
—*in terram*, Abd. (M. XXV. 1104).
—*in terra*, G.

11. *scivit deus*, R.
scit—, G.
agnovit—, Ep. XXXIX (p. 296).
novit—, H.

12. *ipsi peccatores*, R., G.
isti—, Ep. XXXIX (p. 296).
isti impii, H.

13. *sine causa justificavi cor meum*, R., G., Ep. XXXIX (p. 297).
frustra sanctificavi animam meam, Ep. LXVIII (p. 676).
frustra mundavi cor meum, H.

14. *fui flagellatus*, R., G.
factus sum flagellatus, Ep. XXXIX (p. 297).

15. *si narravero sic, ecce generationem filiorum tuorum praevaricatus sum*, Ep. XXIII (p. 212), Ep. XXXIX (p. 296).
—*tuorum reprobavi*, Ep. LXVIII (p. 676).
—*tuorum reliqui*, H.
narrabo sic—nationem—reprobavi, G.

narrabo sic—natio—tuorum, quibus disposui, R.

16. *existimabam ut cognoscerem,* R., G.
—cognoscere, Pel. (M. XXIII. 509).
suscepi—, Ep. XXXIX (p. 297).
labor est ante me, R., G.
—in conspectu meo, Ep. XXXIX (p. 297), Pel. (M. XXIII. 509), Ezech. (M. XXV. 397).

17. *intrem in sanctuarium dei, et intelligam in novissimis eorum,* G.
—in novissima—, R.
introeam—, Pel. (M. XXIII. 509).
ingrediar—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 397).
ingrediar—novissima—, Ep. XXXIX (p. 297).

20. *imaginem ipsorum ad nihilum rediges,* G.
imagines eorum—, R.
—eorum dissipa, Ep. XLIII (p. 320).
—dissipabis, Ezech. (M. XXV. 80, 140).
—eorum dissipabis, Ezech. (M. XXV. 119).
imagines eorum dissipabis, Ezech. (M. XXV. 243).

23. *ut jumentum factus sum,* R., G., Jer. (p. 276), Pel. (M. XXIII. 509), Ab. (M. XXV. 1318), [*jumentum—,* Mi. (M. XXV. 1210).
quasi—, H., Jo. (M. XXV. 961).
sicut—, Is. (M. XXIV. 348).
—omit *factus—,* Eccl. (M. XXIII. 1042).

25. *restat in coelo,* R., Ep. XLIII (p. 321).
est—, G., Com.

26. *pars mea deus,* R., G.

—*dominus,* Ep. XXII (p. 201), Ep. LII (p. 421), Jov. (M. XXIII. 325), Eccl. (M. XXIII. 1082), Is. (M. XXIV. 551, 602), Ezech. (M. XXV. 443).

27. *perdidisti omnes,* G., Os. (M. XXV. 850).
perdes—, R.

28. *mihi autem adhaerere deo bonum est,* R., G., Jer. (p. 162), Is. (M. XXIV. 534, 539, 562).
—omit *autem*—omit *est,* Jer. (p. 193).
in domino deo spem meam, R., G.
—omit *deo*—, Jer. (p. 194).

LXXIII. 2. *memor esto congregationis tuae, quam possedisti,* G., Jer. (p. 17).
memento congregationis—creasti, R.
in quo habitasti, G., Is. (M. XXIV. 403).
—*habitas,* R.

13. *tu contribulasti capita draconum super aquas,* R.
omit *tu—in aquis,* G.
—*contrivisti—in aquis,* Ep. LXIX (p. 690).
contrivisti—in aquis, H.

14. *caput draconis magni,* R., Ep. LXIX (p. 690).
capita—omit *magni,* G., Ep. XXI (p. 136), Ab. (M. XXV. 1331).
eum in escam populo Aethiopum, R.
—omit *in—populis*—, G., Ezech. (M. XXV. 307).
—omit *in—populis Aethiopibus,* Ep. XXI (p. 136), Ep. XCVI (p. 170), Ab. (M. XXV. 1316).

15. *exsiccasti fluvios Ethan,* R.
siccasti—, G.
disrupisti—, Ep. LXXVIII (p. 55).
16. *fabricatus es auroram et solem,* G., Za. (M. XXV. 1528).
fecisti solem et lunam, R.
17. *aestatem et ver, tu plasmasti ea,* G.
—omit *ea,* Za. (M. XXV. 1528).
—fecisti—, R.
19. *animas confitentes,* R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 543).
animam confitentem, Ep. CVIII (p. 340), Is. (M. XXIV. 215), Ezech. (M. XXV. 57, 121, 183, 280, 444, 834, 1371, 1431).
animam eruditam, H.

LXXIV. 4. *confirmavi columnas,* R., G., Jon. (M. XXV. 1135).
firmavi—, Is. (M. XXIV. 371).
9. *calix in manu domini, vini meri plenus est mixto,* R.
—omit *est—,* G., Is. (M. XXIV. 491), Ezech. (M. XXV. 221), Ab. (M. XXV. 1302).
calix enim—omit *est—,* Hom. (M. XXV. 649), Mal. (M. XXV. 1566).
inclinavit ex hoc in hoc, R., G., Ezech. (M. XXV. 221), Mal. (M. XXV. 1566).
—in illud, Com., Is. (M. XXIV. 491), Hom. (M. XXV. 649, 650), Ab. (M. XXV. 1303).
faex ejus non est exinanita, G., Com., Is. (M. XXIV. 491), Ezech. (M. XXV. 221), Hom. (M. XXV. 649), Ab. (M. XXV. 1303).

—*ipsius*—, Hom. (M. XXV. 650).
—omit *non*—, R.
—*bibent ex eo omnes peccatores*, R., Ezech. (M. XXV. 221), Hom. (M. XXV. 649).
—omit *ex eo*—, G., Is. (M. XXIV. 491).

LXXV. 2. *notus in Judaea*, R., G., Trac., Ep. LX (p. 552), Jer. (pp. 226, 314), Is. (M. XXIV. 308, 430), Am. (M. XXV. 1040).
notus enim—, Did. (M. XXIII. 114).

3. *in pace*, R., G., Trac., Ezech. (M. XXV. 158, 331, 352, 417), Hom. (M. XXV. 839).
in Salem [id est *in pace*], Jer. (pp. 218, 320).
in Salem, H.

5. *a montibus*, R., G., Trac., Is. (M. XXIV. 500), Ezech. (M. XXV. 65), Za. (M. XXV. 1525).
de—, Com.

6. *dormierunt somnum suum et nihil invenerunt*, R., G., Trac., Os. (M. XXV. 876).
—*invenerunt nihil*, Is. (M. XXIV. 493).
dormitaverunt—invenerunt nihil, Jer. (p. 289).
dormitaverunt—non invenerunt, H.

7. *dormitaverunt omnes qui ascenderunt equos*, Ezech. (M. XXV. 254), Am. (M. XXV. 1013), Ab. (M. XXV. 1319).
—omit *omnes*—, R., G., Trac., Za. (M. XXV. 1493).
dormierunt—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 242).

10. *cum exsurgeret in judicium deus*, G.

—*resurgeret ad j u d i c i u m*—, Is. (M. XXIV. 653).
—*surrexerit ad judicium*—, H.
dum resurgeret—judicio—, R.

LXXVI. 3. *renuit consolari anima mea*, G., Trac., Pel. (M. XXIII. 556).
negavi consolari animam meam, R.

4. *memor fui dei, et delectatus sum*, R., G., Trac.
recordatus sum—lætatus sum, Pel. (M. XXIII. 556).
recordatus sum domini et lætatus sum, Jon. (M. XXV. 1137).
recordans dei conturbabar, H.

6. *cogitavi dies antiquos*, R., G., Trac., Is. (M. XXIV. 240, 259).
recordatus sum dierum antiquorum, Jon. (M. XXV. 1137).

7. *meditatus sum nocte cum corde meo et exercitabar et scopebam spiritum meum*, G.
—omit *et exercitabar*—, Trac.
—omit first *et—ventilabam in me spiritum*—, R.
nocte cum corde meo meditabar et scopebam—, Pel. (M. XXIII. 556).
in nocte cum corde meo exercebar et scopebam—, So. (M. XXV. 1381).

8. *in æternum projiciet deus*, R., G., Trac.
—*sempiternum abjiciet*—, So. (M. XXV. 1381).
apponet ut complacitior sit adhuc, G.
—*ut beneplacitum sit ei adhuc*, R.
adiciet ut ei placeat adhuc, Trac.

addet ut misereatur ultra, So. (M. XXV. 1381).

10. *in ira sua misericordias suas,* G., So. (M. XXV. 1381).
—omit *sua*—, Trac.
—omit *sua—misericordiam suam,* R.

11. *haec est mutatio,* R., Pel. (M. XXIII. 556).
—omit *est*—, G., Trac.
—*immutatio,* So. (M. XXV. 1381).

17. *et turbati sunt abyssi,* G., Trac.
omit *et*—, R., Hom. (M. XXV. 646).

18. *sagittae tuae pertransierunt,* R.
—*transeunt,* G.
—*transierunt,* Hom. (M. XXV. 646).
—*perambulant,* Trac.

LXXVII. 2. *aperiam in parabolis,* R., G., Trac., Ezech. (M. XXV. 160, 167).
—*in parabola,* H., Ep. LXXVIII (p. 49).
loquar propositiones ab initio saeculi, R.
—omit *saeculi,* G., Ep. LXXVIII (p. 49), Ezech. (M. XXV. 167).
eloquar—omit *saeculi,* Trac.

3. *audivimus et cognovimus,* R., G., Trac.
—*et vidimus,* Ep. LXXVIII (p. 49).

9. *intendentes arcum et mittentes sagittas suas, conversi sunt,* R.
intendentes et mittentes arcum, conversi —, G., Trac., Jer. (p. 394), Os. (M. XXV. 826), Am. (M. XXV. 1071), Za. (M. XXV. 1484, 1487).
intendentes et mittentes arcum, conversi sunt retrorsum, Ezech. (M. XXV. 216).

12. *qui fecit mirabilia,* Is. (M. XXIV. 339).
quae—, Trac.
omit *qui—,* R., G.

30. *cum adhuc esca esset in ore ipsorum,* Ep. LXXVIII (p. 64).
—cibus esset—eorum, H.
adhuc esca eorum erat—, R.
adhuc escae eorum erant—, G.

31. *et ira dei,* R., G.
omit *et—,* Ep. LXXVIII (p. 64).
occidit pingues eorum, et electos Israel impedivit, G.
—praepedivit, Ep. LXXVIII (p. 64).
—plurimos eorum—, R.

34. *cum occideret eos, tunc inquirebant eum,* R.
—omit *tunc—quaerebant—,* G.
—interficeret—quaerebant—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 191).
—interficeret illos—quaerebant—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 283).
—interficeret—omit *tunc—requirebant—,* Ezech. (M. XXV. 98).
si occidebat—quaerebant (*requirebant*)*—,* H.

47. *occidit in grandine vineas eorum, et moros eorum in pruina,* R., G., So. (M. XXV. 1353).
—sycomoros eorum—, Pach. (M. XXIII. 92).
—sycomoros eorum in frigore, H.
percussit—ficus eorum in gelu, Hom. (M. XXV. 648).

49. *misit in eos iram indignationis suae,* G.,

Hom. (M. XXV. 602), Jo. (M. XXV. 973).

immisit—, R.

—furorem irae suae, Is. (M. XXIV. 208).

—iram furoris sui, H.

indignationem et iram et tribulationem, R., G.

furorem et—, Is. (M. XXIV. 208), Jo. (M. XXV. 973).

furorem et—et angustiam, Ezech. (M. XXV. 204), Hom. (M. XXV. 602), Jo. (M. XXV. 966).

—et comminationem et angustiam, H.

immisionem per angelos malos, G., Jo. (M. XXV. 973).

—pessimos, Is. (M. XXIV. 208), Ezech. (M. XXV. 93, 204, 292, 309), Hom. (M. XXV. 602), Jo. (M. XXV. 966).

65. *excitatus est tamquam dormiens dominus, quasi potens crapulatus a vino,* R.

—tamquam potens—, G.

*surrexit quasi dormiens—et quasi—*omit *potens—,* Dan. (M. XXV. 540).

evigilavit quasi dormiens—quasi fortis post crapulam vini, H.

68. *et elegit tribum Juda,* R., Ezech. (M. XXV. 216).

sed elegit—, R., G.

LXXVIII. 6. *iram tuam in gentes quae te non noverunt,* R., G.

furorem tuum super gentes—intellexerunt, Ezech. (M. XXV. 90).

furorem tuum super gentes—non cognoverunt te, H.

in regna quae nomen tuum non invocaverunt, G.
super regna—, H., Ezech. (M. XXV. 90).
—non invocaverunt nomen tuum, R.

8. *iniquitatum nostrarum antiquarum,* G., Am. (M. XXV. 1081).
iniquitates nostras antiquas, R.

11. *filios mortificatorum,* G., Ep. CVIII (p. 333).
—morte punitorum, R.

13. *oves pascuae tuae,* G., Mi. (M. XXV. 1227).
—gregis tui, R.

LXXIX. 2. *super Cherubim manifestare,* G., Jer. (p. 47), Is. (M. XXIV. 93), Ezech. (M. XXV. 95).
—ostendere, H., Ep. XVIII B (p. 98), Ab. (M. XXV. 1319).
—apparare, R.

4. *ostende faciem,* R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 302, 559, 576, 625).
illumina—, Os. (M. XXV. 866).

6. *potum dabis nobis in lacrymis,* R., G., Pel. (M. XXIII. 556).
potabis nos lacrymis, Ab. (M. XXV. 1310).

9. *de Aegypto transtulisti,* G., Is. (M. XXIV. 30, 68, 218, 307, 572), Hom. (M. XXV. 733), Ab. (M. XXV. 1334), Mat. (M. XXVI. 156).
ex—, R., Ezech. (M. XXV. 123), Os. (M. XXV. 836).
transtulisti ex Aegypto, Za. (M. XXV. 1535).

et ejecisti gentes, Za. (M. XXV. 1535).
omit *et*—, R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 30, 218, 572), Ezech. (M. XXV. 123), Ab. (M. XXV. 1334), Mat. (M. XXVI. 156).

10. *dux itineris fuisti,* G., Ezech. (M. XXV. 123).
viam fecisti, R.

12 *extendit palmites suos usque ad mare, et usque ad flumen propagines ejus.* G.
extendisti palmites ejus—, R.
extendisti propagines ejus—ad flumina flagella ejus, Ab. (M. XXV. 1317).

13. *ut quid destruxisti,* G.
—*deposuisti,* R.
quare—, Is. (M. XXIV. 572).
quare dissipasti, H.

14. *exterminavit eam,* R., G.
—*illam,* Ab. (M. XXV. 1334).
devastavit—, Dan. (M. XXV. 530).
vastabit—, Is. (M. XXIV. 311).
vastavit—, H., Is. (M. XXIV. 660).

LXXX. 2. *exsultate deo,* R., G.
jubilate—, Am. (M. XXV. 1061).

11. *dilata os tuum, et implebo illud,* G., Is. (M. XXIV. 490).
—*et ego adimplebo*—, R.
aperi—, Ep. CXX (p. 473), Jer. (p. 8), Ezech. (M. XXV. 34, 160), Dan. (M. XXV. 492), Mi. (M. XXV. 1159).
aperi—et ego—, Ep. CXII (p. 369).

17. *cibavit eos ex adipe frumenti et de petra melle saturavit eos,* R., G.

—*de adipe*—, Trac., Is. (M. XXIV. 530).
et de adipe frumenti saturavit eos, Ezech. (M. XXV. 137).

LXXXI. 1. *deus enim stetit*, H. Q. (M. XXIII. 947).
—omit *enim*—, R., G., Trac., Is. (M. XXIV. 538), Ezech. (M. XXV. 441), Za. (M. XXV. 1438).
deos dijudicat, G., Trac., H. Q. (M. XXIII. 948), Is. (M. XXIV. 538), Ezech. (M. XXV. 441), Za. (M. XXV. 1438).
—*discernit*, R., H. Q. (M. XXIII. 948).

2. *usquequo judicatis iniquitatem et facies peccatorum sumitis*, G., Mal. (M. XXV. 1558).
—*faciem peccatorum*—, Trac.
—*personas peccatorum*—, Za. (M. XXV. 1461).
quousque—facies peccantium—, R.

3. *judicate egeno et pupillo*, G., Trac.
—*pupillo et egeno*, R.
—*pupillo et viduae*, Za. (M. XXV. 1461).

6. *filii excelsi*, R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 222), Hom. (M. XXV. 778).
—*altissimi*, Ep. XXII (p. 149), Hom. (M. XXV. 702).

7. *vos autem sicut homines moriemini, et sicut unus de principibus cadetis*, R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 222), Za. (M. XXV. 1518).
—*tamquam unus*—, Ep. XXII (p. 149).
—*ut homines—tamquam unus*—, Hom. (M. XXV. 778).
—*vero ut homines—quasi unus ex*—, Hom. XXV. 702).

LXXXII. 7. *Ismahelitarum,* R., H. Q. (M. XXIII. 1367).
Ismahelitae, G., Trac., Is. (M. XXIV. 192).
Ismahelitum, R., Trac.[2]
10. *fac eis, domine, sicut Madian,* Os. (M. XXV. 913).
—omit *domine*—, Trac.
—*illis*—omit *domine*—, R., G., Trac.[2]
11. *facti sunt sicut stercus terrae,* R., Trac.
—*ut stercus*—, G.
pone eos sicut—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 308).
12. *dixerunt haereditate possideamus nobis sanctuarium,* R.
—omit *nobis*—, G.
dixerant—*possidemus*—omit *nobis*—, Os. (M. XXV. 913).
17. *imple, domine,* Ep. XVIII A(p. 75), Is. (M. XXIV. 603).
—omit *domine,* R., G., Trac.

LXXXIII. 2. *quam amabilia sunt tabernacula,* R.
—*dilecta*—*omit sunt*—, G., Trac., Ep. C(p. 217), Ep. CVIII (p. 347), Is. (M. XXIV. 517), Ezech. (M. XXV. 405), Za. (M. XXV. 1417, 1536).
3. *concupiscit et deficit anima mea in atria domini,* G., Trac., Ep. CVIII (p. 347), Is. (M. XXIV. 517), Za. (M. XXV. 1417, 1536).
—*in atriis*—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 405).
concupivit—, R.
4. *nidum sibi, ubi ponat pullos suos,* G., Trac.
—omit *sibi*—. Za. (M. XXV. 1417).

—omit *sibi—reponat*—, R., Trac.[2]

5. *beati qui habitant in domo tua, domine,* R., Trac.[2]
—omit *domine,* G., Trac., Is. (M. XXIV. 517).
—*omnes qui*—omit *domine,* Za. (M. XXV. 1536).

8. *ibunt de virtute,* G., Trac., Ep. LXXI (p. 3), LXXVIII (p. 80), Jer. (p. 118), Is. (M. XXIV. 70), Ezech. (M. XXV. 424).
ambulabunt—, R.

11. *abjectus esse in domo dei mei,* G., Trac.
—*domo domini,* R., Hom. (M. XXV. 601).
abjecta—, Ep. CVIII (p. 347).

LXXXIV. 9. *quid loquatur in me dominus deus,* R., G., Trac.,[2] Os. (M. XXV. 928), —*dominus*], Ab. (M. XXV. 1289).
—*loquetur*—, R., Trac.
—*dominus deus in me,* Com.

11. *et justitia et pax deosculatae sunt se,* Os. (M. XXV. 840).
omit first *et*—, Is. (M. XXIV. 323).
omit first *et—osculatae sunt se,* Jon. (M. XXV. 1142).
omit first *et—osculatae sunt*—omit *se,* G.
omit first *et—complexae sunt*—, R.

LXXXV. 9. *quascumque fecisti,* R., G.
quas—, R., Is. (M. XXIV. 675).
adorabunt coram te, domine, et glorificabunt nomen tuum, R., G.
—*et honorificabunt*—, R.
—*in conspectu tuo*—omit *domine—nomen*

tuum, domine, Is. (M. XXIV. 675).

17. *fac mecum, domine, signum,* R.
—dominum—, Is. (M. XXIV. 538).
—omit *domine—,* G., Is. (M. XXIV. 668).

LXXXVI. 4. *memor ero Raab et Babylonis scientium me,* R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 342).
—scientibus me, Trac.
recordabor Raab et Babylonis], Com.
hi fuerunt illic, G., Trac.
—fuerunt in ea, R.
isti nati sunt ibi, Za. (M. XXV. 1480).
isti generati sunt ibi, Com.
iste natus est ibi, H.

5. *numquid Sion dicet homo,* G., Trac., Is. (M. XXIV. 56).
mater Sion—, R., Com.
homo natus est in ea, et ipse fundavit, G., Ep. LIV (p. 485), Is. (M. XXIV. 56, 572).
—omit *est—,* Is. (M. XXIV. 657).
—factus est in ea—, R.
—qui ipse—, Trac.

LXXXVII. 5. *aestimatus sum cum descendentibus,* R., G., Trac.
reputatus sum—, H., Is. (M. XXIV. 514).
assimilatus sum—, Is. (M. XXIV. 221).

7. *in lacu inferiori,* R., G.
—lacu novissimo, H.
—lacum novissimum, Is. (M. XXIV. 221).

LXXXVIII. 2. *misericordias tuas, domine,* R., Trac.
misericordias domini, G., Is. (M. XXIV. 531).

in generatione et generationem annuntiabo, G.
—*et generatione*—, R., Is. (M. XXIV. 531).
in generationem et—, Trac.
—*et progenie pronuntiabo,* R.

10. *dominaris potestati maris: motum autem fluctuum ejus tu mitigas,* R., G., Trac.
—omit *autem*—, Za. (M. XXV. 1497).
—*fortitudini maris et commotionem*—omit *autem,* Is. (M. XXIV. 490).
—*fortitudini maris et motum*—omit *autem* —*tu comprimis,* Ep. XCVI (p. 160).
—*superbiae maris et elationes gurgitum ejus tu comprimis,* H.

14. *firmetur manus,* R., G.
confortetur—, Is. (M. XXIV. 484).

20. *in visione sanctis tuis,* G.
—*filiis tuis,* Com., Is. (M. XXIV. 633).
—*aspectu filiis tuis,* R., Trac.

21. *oleo sancto meo unxi eum,* R., G.
in misericordia sancta unxi eum, Is. (M. XXIV. 532).

23. *apponet nocere ei,* G., Mal. (M. XXV. 1547).
nocebit ei, R., Trac.
apponet ut affligat eum, Is. (M. XXIV. 548).

31. *si autem dereliquerint,* G.
—omit *autem*—, R., Trac., Ep. XXI (p. 134), Did. (M. XXIII. 136), Ezech. (M. XXV. 144), Hom. (M. XXV. 601), Mi. (M. XXV. 1196).

32. *justificationes meas profanaverint et man-*

data mea non custodierint, R., Ep. XXI (p. 134).

justitias meas—, G., Hom. (M. XXV. 601).

justitias meas—praecepta mea—, Mi. (M. XXV. 1196).

caeremonias—praecepta mea—, H.

33. *iniquitates eorum et in verberibus peccata,* R., G., Jer. (p. 278), Ezech. (M. XXV. 359).

—*in flagellis—,* Jer. (p. 366), H. Q. (M. XXIII. 948), Is. (M. XXIV. 619), Ezech. (M. XXV. 67), Mi. (M. XXV. 1196).

—*in flagellis injustitias,* Ep. XXI (p. 134).

peccata eorum et in flagellis iniquitates, Is. (M. XXIV.287).

facinora eorum et in flagellis iniquitates, Hom. (M. XXV. 601).

34. *misericordiam autem meam non dispergam ab eo,* R., G., Jer. (p. 278).

—*ab eis,* Ezech. (M. XXV. 67), Hom. (M. XXV. 601).

—*auferam ab eo,* H., Ep. XXI (p. 134).

—*auferam ab eis,* Is. (M. XXIV. 619), Ezech. (M. XXV. 67, 85).

omit *autem—auferam ab eis,* H. Q. (M. XXIII. 948).

45. *sedem ejus in terra collisisti,* G.

sepem—, R.

—*in terram—,* Trac.

thronum—in terram allisisti, Jer. (p. 182).

thronum illius in terram detraxisti, H.

49. *quis est enim homo qui vivit,* Ezech. (M. XXV. 154).
—omit *enim*—, R.
—omit *enim—vivet,* G., Pel. (M. XXIII. 580).

LXXXIX. 1. *tu factus es nobis a generatione in generationem,* G.
omit *tu—a generatione et progenie,* R.
omit *tu—in generatione et generatione,* Trac., Jer. (p. 203), Is. (M. XXIV. 532).
—*in generatione et generatione,* H.

10. *dies annorum nostrorum in ipsis septuaginta anni,* R., G., Trac., Jer. (p. 355), Ezech. (M. XXV. 246).
dies vitae nostrae septuaginta anni, Ep. X (p. 36), Ep. CXVIII (p. 443).
si autem in potentatibus octoginta anni, R., G., Trac., Ezech. (M. XXV. 246).
si autem multum octoginta anni, H.,—*octoginta*], Trac.[2], Ep. X (p. 36).
si autem amplius, octoginta, Ep. CXVIII (p. 443).
et amplius eorum labor et dolor, G., Trac.
et plurimum eorum—, R.
et quicquid supra est, labor et dolor est, Ep. CXVIII (p. 443).
quidquid supra, labor et dolor est, Ezech. (M. XXV. 246).
quidquid reliquium est, labor et dolor, Ep. X (p. 36).

17. *sit splendor,* R., G., Trac.
erit—, Za. (M. XXV. 1487).

XC. 3. *liberavit me,* R., G.
eruit—, Is. (M. XXIV. 269).
liberabit—, Trac.
liberabit te, H., Is. (M. XXIV. 276).

6. *sagitta volante per diem,* R., Trac.[2], Ep. XXII (p. 147), Pel. (M. XXIII. 556).
—in die, G., Trac.
et a negotio, Trac.[2]
omit *et—,* R., G., Trac., Ep. XXII (p. 147), Pel. (M. XXIII. 556).
ab incursu et daemonio meridiano, G., Ep. XXII (p. 147), Ep. LXXVIII (p. 80).
a ruina et—, R.

7. *a latere tuo mille,* G., Trac., Ep. XXII (p. 147), Ep. LXXVIII (p. 80).
—millia, R.
ad te autem non appropinquabit, G., Ep. XXII (p. 147).
—appropinquabunt, Trac.[2]
tibi autem—, R.

16. *replebo eum,* G., Mat. (M. XXVI. 178).
adimplebo—, R.

XCI. 13. *justus autem ut palma florebit,* Jo. (M. XXV. 958).
—omit *autem—,* R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 649).

14. *atriis domus dei,* R., G., Os. (M. XXV. 928).
—omit *domus—,* Trac., Pel. (M. XXIII. 557), Ezech. (M. XXV. 459).

XCII. 3. *elevaverunt flumina voces suas,* R., Ezech. (M. XXV. 472).

—omit *flumina*—, Trac.
—*vocem suam*, G.

XCIII. 2. *exaltare, domine*, Is. (M. XXIV. 556).
—omit *domine*, R., G., Trac.
9. *aut qui finxit oculum, non considerat*, G.
et qui—, Is. (M. XXIV. 659).
omit *aut*—, R., Trac.
omit *aut*—*videbit*, Com.
—*videbit*, H.
11. *novit cogitationes hominum, quoniam vanae sunt*, R., Jer. (p. 276).
scit—, G., Trac.
cognoscit—*quia vanae*—, Pel. (M. XXIII. 544).
—*quia vanae*—, H.
19. *domine, secundum multitudinem*, Did. (M. XXIII. 128).
omit *domine*—, G., R., Trac.
consolationes tuae, domine, R.
—omit *domine*, G., Trac., Did. (M. XXIII. 128).
laetificaverunt animam meam, R., G.
—*cor meum*, Did. (M. XXIII. 128).
dilexerunt—, Did. (M. XXIII. 128).
delectabunt—, H.

XCIV. 10. *semper hi errant corde*, R., G.
—omit *hi*—, Ep. XCVI (p. 160).
11. *introibunt*, R., G.
intrabunt, Ezech. (M. XXV. 442).

XCV. 2. *annuntiate de die in diem*, G.
—*diem ex die*, Is. (M. XXIV. 75).
bene nuntiate—, R.

3. *inter gentes gloriam ejus,* R., G.
in gentibus—, H.
in gentibus—illius, Is. (M. XXIV. 75).

10. *in gentibus, quia dominus regnavit,* G., Za. (M. XXV. 1528).
—quoniam dominus—, Trac.
—nationibus, dominus regnavit a ligno, R.

XCVI. 2. *in circuitu ejus,* R., G., Trac.
—illius, Ezech. (M. XXV. 20).

3. *ante ipsum praecedet,* G., Trac.
—eum—, Dan. (M. XXV. 532).
—eum praebit, R.
omnes inimicos, Dan. (M. XXV. 532).
omit *omnes—,* R., G.

5. *montes sicut cera fluxerunt a facie domini,* G.,*—fluxerunt*], Trac.
—a facie ejus, Trac.[2]
—ante faciem domini, R.
montes liquefacti sunt sicut cera a facie domini, Is. (M. XXIV. 621).
a facie domini tremuit omnis terra, R.
—omit *tremuit—,* G.
—omit *tremuit—universae terrae,* Is. (M. XXIV. 621).

8. *exsultaverunt et laetatae sunt filiae Judae in omnibus judiciis tuis,* Dan. (M. XXV. 509), Za. (M. XXV. 1466).
—omit *et lactatae sunt—,* Ep. XXII (p. 193).
—omit *et laetatae sunt—propter judicia tua,* R., G.
—omit *et laetatae sunt—Judaeae propter judicia tua,* Trac.

XCVII. 1. *salvabit sibi dextera ejus, et brachium sanctum ejus,* G., Trac.
—*eum dextera*—, R.
—*sanctum illius,* Is. (M. XXIV. 484. 502).
—*dextera sua*—, Did. (M. XXIII. 145).

2. *notum fecit dominus salutare suum, in conspectu gentium,* G., Trac.
—*ante conspectum*—, R.
ostendit dominus salutare suum—, Is. (M. XXIV. 75).

8. *flumina plaudent manu,* G., Trac., Is. (M. XXIV. 537).
—*manibus,* R.
—*concrepent manibus,* Am. (M. XXV. 1061).

XCVIII. 7. *et in columna,* R.
omit *et*—, G., Jo. (M. XXV. 978).

XCIX. 4. *introite portas ejus,* G.
intrate—, R.
introeamus—, Ep. C (p. 224).

C. 6. *hic mihi ministrabat,* R., Trac., Jer. (p. 420).
—*ministrabit,* Pel. (M. XXIII. 516).
—omit *mihi*—, G.

8. *in matutinis,* R., Trac., Is. (M. XXIV. 82).
—*matutino,* G., Com., Ep. CIX (p. 353).
ut disperderem de civitate domini omnes operantes iniquitatem, G., Ep. CIX (p. 353).

—*omnes qui operantur*—, Trac., Is. (M. XXIV. 82).
—*disperdam*—*omnes qui operantur*—, R.
—*exterminarem*—*omnes qui operantur*—, Com.

CI. 5. *manducare panem,* R., Trac., Ep. XXII (p. 166).
comedere—, G.
adhaesit os meum, G., Trac., Ep. XXII (p. 166).
adhaeserunt ossa mea, R.
8. *sicut passer solitarius in tecto,* G., Eccl. (M. XXIII. 1109).
quasi passer—, Ab. (M. XXV. 1298).
—*passer unicus*—*aedificio,* R.
10. *quia cinerem tamquam panem manducabam, et potum meum cum fletu miscebam,* G., Jov. (M. XXIII. 309).
—*sicut panem*—*cum fletu temperabam,* R
—*manducavi*—*poculum meum*—, Trac.
—*quasi panem manducavi*—*poculum meum*—, Jer. (p. 412).
—*quasi panem manducavi*—*potionem meam*—, Ep. XXII (p. 167).
12. *sicut umbra declinaverunt,* R., G., Trac., Eccl. (M. XXIII. 1078).
—*inclinati sunt,* Eccl. (M. XXIII. 1078).
quasi—*inclinati sunt,* H.
26. *initio tu domine terram fundasti,* G.
a principio—, Is. (M. XXIV. 485).
initio terram tu fundasti, domine, R.
a principio terram tu fundasti, domine, Is. (M. XXIV. 644).
a principio terram fundasti, H.

27. *permanes, et omnes sicut vestimentum veterascent,* G., Is. (M. XXIV. 485, 644).
permanebis—ut vestimentum—, R.
sicut opertorium mutabis eos, R., G.
—pallium involves eos, Is. (M. XXIV. 485).
quasi pallium—, H.
quasi amictum involves eos, Is. (M. XXIV. 644).

28. *tu autem idem ipse es,* R., G., Am. (M. XXV. 1070).
—omit *ipse—,* Za. (M. XXV. 1523).
—omit *idem—,* H., Ep. XCVIII (p. 188), Jer. (p. 407).
non deficient, R., G., Am. (M. XXV. 1070).
—deficiunt, Jer. (p. 407).

CII. 1. *anima mea, domino,* G., Trac., Is. (M. XXIV. 238, 300, 531, 571), Mal. (M. XXV. 1553).
—dominum, R., Ep. XXII (p. 167), Ep. CXX (p. 513).
omnia interiora mea nomen sanctum, R., Is. (M. XXIV. 238, 531).
omnia quae intra me sunt nomini sancto, G., Trac., Mal. (M. XXV. 1553).

2. *anima mea, domino,* G., Trac.
—dominum, R., Ep. XXII (p. 167).
noli oblivisci, R., G., Trac.
ne obliviscaris, Ep. XXII (p. 167).

3. *propitiatur omnibus iniquitatibus,* G.
—cunctis—, H., Ep. XXII (p. 167).
propitius fit—, R.

infirmitates tuas, G., Com., Trac., Ep. XXII (p. 167), Ep. CXX (p. 513).
languores tuos, R., Is. (M. XXIV. 300).

4. *qui redimit de interitu,* R., G., Trac.
—*de corruptione,* H., Com.
et redimit ex corruptione, Ep. XXII (p. 167).

5. *replet in bonis,* G.
implet—, Is. (M. XXIV. 571).
satiat—, R.
renovabitur sicut aquilae juventus, R., Is. (M. XXIV. 412).
—*ut aquilae—,* G.
innovabitur—, H.
innovabitur ut—senectus, Mi. (M. XXV. 1164).

8. *misericors et miserator dominus, patiens et multum misericors,* R.
—*longanimis et multae miserationis,* Pel. (M. XXIII. 557).
—*clemens dominus—et multae miserationis,* H.
miserator et misericors—longanimis et—, G.

9. *non in perpetuum irascetur, neque in aeternum comminabitur dominus,* Mi. (M. XXV. 1193).
—omit *dominus,* G.
non in finem—in aeternum indignabitur —omit *dominus,* R.

CIII. 2. *amictus lumine sicut vestimento,* G., Trac., Is. (M. XXIV. 224).
—*lumen—vestimentum,* R.
extendere coelum sicut pellem, R., G.

extendens—, Trac.
qui extendit—*ut pellem*, Hom. (M. XXV. 627).

3. *qui ambulat*, R., Is. (M. XXIV. 94, 664).
—*ambulas*, G., Trac.

4. *facit angelos suos spiritus et ministros suos*, R., Joan. (M. XXIII. 367), Is. (M. XXIV. 94, 617), Ezech. (M. XXV. 272), Dan. (M. XXV. 532).
facis—*tuos*—*tuos*, G., Trac.

6. *sicut vestimentum*, G., Trac., Za. (M. XXV. 1424).
ut—, Com.
—*pallium*, R.

9. *terminum posuisti eis, quem non transgredientur*, R.
—omit *eis*—, G., Trac.
—omit *eis*—*transibunt*, Jer. (p. 407).
—omit *eis*—*pertransibunt*, H.

15. *laetificet cor hominis*, R., G.
laetificat—, Trac.
exhilarat—, Ag. (M. XXV. 1394).
panis cor hominis confirmet, R., G.
—*confirmat*, Trac.
panis confirmat cor hominis, Ezech. (M. XXV. 50).

16. *saturabuntur ligna domini*, H., Is. (M. XXIV. 51).
—*ligna campi*, Trac.
saturabunt ligna campi, G.
satiabuntur omnia ligna silvarum, R.
quas tu plantasti, Is. (M. XXIV. 51).
—omit *tu*—, R.
quas plantavit, G.

17. *illic passeres nidificabunt,* G.
ibi—, Is. (M. XXIV. 51).
ibi aves—, H.
—nidificant, R.
herodii domus dux est eorum, G.
fulicae domus—, R.
milvo abies domus ejus, H., [*abies—,* Os. (M. XXV. 945).

18. *petra refugium herinaciis,* R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 277), Mat. (M. XXVI. 50).
—refugium leporibus, Is. (M. XXIV. 50), Mat. (M. XXVI. 50).

20. *omnes bestiae silvae,* G., Com., Trac., Ep. XXII (p. 148).
—silvarum, R.
—saltus, Na. (M. XXV. 1252).

21. *catuli leonum rugientes ut rapiant et quaerant,* R., G., Trac., Ep. XXII (p. 148).
—leonum rapere et quaerere, Na. (M. XXV. 1252).

25. *magnum et spatiosum manibus,* G., Trac., Za. (M. XXV. 1497).
—omit *manibus,* R., Com., Is. (M. XXIV. 306), Ezech. (M. XXV. 473), Jon. (M. XXV. 1122), Na. (M. XXV. 1235), Ab. (M. XXV. 1318).
illic reptilia, R., G., Za. (M. XXV. 1497).
ibi—, R., Com., Is. (M. XXIV. 306), Jon. (M. XXV. 1122), Na. (M. XXV. 1235).
animalia pusilla cum magnis, G., Jon. (M. XXV. 1122), Za. (M. XXV. 1497).
—pusilla et magna, R.
—parva cum magnis, Com., Is. (M. XXIV.

306), Na. (M. XXV. 1235), Ab. (M. XXV. 1318).

—*parva cum grandibus,* H.

26. *illic naves pertransibunt,* R., G., Trac., Jon. (M. XXV. 1122), Za. (M. XXV. 1497).

ibi—, Com., Ab. (M. XXV. 1318).

—*perambulabunt,* Jon. (M. XXV. 1122).

ibi—perambulant, Na. (M. XXV. 1235).

ibi—pertranseunt, H.

29. *auferes spiritum eorum,* R., G., Am. (M. XXV. 1034), Za. (M. XXV. 1509), Mat. (M. XXVI. 214).

—*spiritum ipsorum,* Trac.

—*ab eis spiritum tuum,* Did. (M. XXIII. 131).

in pulverem suum, R., G., Am. (M. XXV. 1034), Za. (M. XXV. 1509).

—*terram suam,* Did. (M. XXIII. 131).

30. *emitte enim spiritum,* H. Q. (M. XXIII. 939).

—omit *enim—,* R., Did. (M. XXIII. 131), Ezech. (M. XXV. 19).

emittes spiritum, G., Trac.

32. *respicit terram, et facit eam tremere,* R., G., Trac., Is. (M. XXIV. 25), Ezech. (M. XXV. 58).

—*et faciet—,* Is. (M. XXIV. 286).

aspicit super terra et—, Hom. (M. XXV. 720).

tangit montes et fumigabunt, R., Is. (M. XXIV. 74).

tangis—, Ep. XVIII A (p. 85).

—*et fumigant,* G., Trac.

33. *cantabo domino,* R., G., Trac.
laudabo dominum, Ep. XCVI (p. 160).
quamdiu sum, G., Trac., Ep. XCVI (p. 160).
—ero, R.

35. *a terra,* R., G., Trac.
de—, H., Ep. XCVI (p. 163).
ita ut non sint, R., G., Trac.
ut ultra non subsistant, Ep. XCVI (p. 163).
ultra non sint, H.

CIV. 13. *pertransierunt,* R., G., Trac.
transierunt, H., Jon. (M. XXV. 1127).
pertransivit, Com.
ad populum, R., G., Trac., Jon. (M. XXV. 1127).
in—, Com.

37. *eduxit eos in argento,* R.
eduxi—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 212).
—cum argento, G.
non erat in tribubus eorum infirmus, R., G., Ezech. (M. XXV. 212).
non erit infirmus in tribubus tuis, Ep. XXII (p. 171).

CV. 7. *patres nostri in Aegypto non intellexerunt,* R., G., Trac.
—omit *in Aegypto—,* Tent. (M. XXIII. 1319).

30. *et stetit Phinees et placavit,* G., Jer., (p. 100).
stetit—et exoravit, R.

31. *est illi ad justitiam,* R.
—*ei*—, Jer. (p. 100).
—*ei in justitiam,* G.

32. *irritaverunt eum ad aquas contradictionis,* R., G.
tentaverunt—ad aquam—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 489).
provocaverunt super aquam—, H.
vexatus est Moyses, R., G.
afflictus—, H., Ezech. (M. XXV. 489).

35. *commixti sunt inter gentes,* R., G.
commixti sunt gentibus, H., Is. (M. XXIV. 549).

36. *factum est illis,* R., G.
—*est eis,* H., Is. (M. XXIV. 549).

37. *daemoniis,* R., G., Os. (M. XXV. 931).
daemonibus, H., Is. (M. XXIV. 549), *Ezech.* (M. XXV. 141).

38. *filiorum suorum et filiarum suarum,* G.
—omit *suorum*—, Is. (M. XXIV. 549).
—omit *suarum*—, R.
quas sacrificaverunt, R., G.
quos immolaverunt, H.
et immolaverunt, Is. (M. XXIV. 549).
et infecta est terra in sanguinibus, G.
omit *et*—, R.
—omit *in*—, Is. (M. XXIV. 549).
polluta est—omit *in*—, H.

39. *contaminata est in operibus eorum,* R., G.
polluta est in operibus suis, Is. (M. XXIV. 549).

CVI. 1. *quoniam in saeculum,* R., G., Trac.
—*in aeternum,* H.

CVIII. 9. *fiant filii ejus orphani,* R., G., Trac.
quia in aeternum, Mi. (M. XXV. 1208).
—pupilli, Is. (M. XXIV. 650).
sint—pupilli, H.
20. *de interitu,* R.
—interitionibus, G.
—corruptionibus, Ezech. (M. XXV. 329).
23. *facientes operationes,* R., Is. (M. XXIV. 237, 261), Ezech. (M. XXV. 247).
—operationem, G.
—opus, H.
faciunt opus, Com.
et faciunt opus, Is. (M. XXIV. 53).
24. *opera domini,* R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 53, 237, 261), Ezech. (M. XXV. 247).
mirabilia—, Com.
34. *salsuginem, a malitia inhabitantium,* G.
—habitantium, Ab. (M. XXV. 1320).
salsilaginem—, R.
40. *effusa est contemptio,* R., G.
—despectio, Ezech. (M. XXV. 90).
effundet despectionem, H.
43. *custodiet haec,* R., G.
intelliget—, Is. (M. XXIV. 227).
10. *commoveantur et transferantur,* Is. (M. XXIV. 650).
commoti amoveantur, R.
nutantes transferantur, G., Trac.
de habitationibus, R., G.
—domibus, Is. (M. XXIV. 650).
15. *fiant contra dominum semper,* R., G.
fiat—, Jer. (p. 182).
18. *induit se maledictionem sicut vestimentum,* R.
—omit *se—,* G.

induatur maledictione sicut—, Eccl. (M. XXIII. 1085).
indutus est maledictione quasi vestimento, H.

24. *genua mea infirmata sunt a jējunio,* R., G., Trac.
infirmata sunt in jejunio genua mea, Ep. XXII (p. 166), Jov. (M. XXIII. 309).

CIX. 1. *a dextris meis,* R., G., Trac., Ep. CXX (p. 499), Is. (M. XXIV. 536).
ad dexteram meam, Ben. (M. XXIII. 1312), Ezech. (M. XXV. 30).

7. *in via bibet,* R., G., Com., Trac., H. Q. (M. XXIII. 979), Ab. (M. XXV. 1302).
bibet in via, Ezech. (M. XXV. 470).

CX. 1. *consilio justorum,* R., G., Ezech. (M. XXV. 75).
—sanctorum, Ezech. (M. XXV. 75).
—rectorum, Trac.

10. *principium enim sapientiae,* Mal. (M. XXV. 1556).
—omit *enim—,* H., Jer. (p. 438).
initium sapientiae, R., G., Trac.

CXI. 1. *beatus vir,* R., G., Trac., Is. (M. XXIV. 583, 650).
—homo, Is. (M. XXIV. 583).
volet nimis, R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 650).
cupit—, R.
cupiet—, Trac.

2. *generatio rectorum,* R., G.
—justorum, H., Mat. (M. XXVI. 174).

5. *disponet sermones suos,* R., G.
dispensabit—, Jo. (M. XXV. 975).
dispensabit verba sua, H.
9. *et justitia ejus manet in saeculum saeculi,* Trac.
omit *et—,* R., G.
omit *et—manet in aeternum,* Ep. LXXV (p. 33).
omit *et—permanet in aeternum,* H.

CXII. 7. *suscitans a terra inopem, et de stercore erigens pauperem,* R., G.
—de terra—elevat pauperem, H.
qui suscitat de terra—erigit pauperem, Ezech. (M. XXV. 308).
qui suscitat de terra humilem—elevat pauperem, Pel. (M. XXIII. 567).
9. *facit sterilem,* R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 515).
faciat—, Is. (M. XXIV. 659).

CXIII. 10. *ubi est dominus deus eorum,* Ezech. (M. XXV. 332).
—omit *dominus—,* R., G.
12. *idola enim gentium, argentum et aurum, opera manuum hominum,* Is. (M. XXIV. 419).
—omit *enim—,* Ep. XXXIV (p. 261).
—omit *enim—opus manuum—,* H.
simulacra—omit *enim—,* R., G.
13. *non videbunt,* R., G.
—vident, Jer. (p. 75).
14. *non audient,* R., G., Jer. (p. 129).
—audiunt, Jer. (p. 75).
21. *nos qui vivimus,* R., G.
nos viventes, Ezech. (M. XXV. 134).

CXIV. 3. *circumdederunt me dolores mortis, et pericula,* G.
—omit *et*—, R.
occupaverunt—laquei mortis—omit *et*—, Pach. (M. XXIII. 91) .

4. *et nomen domini,* R., G.
sed—, Pach. (M. XXIII. 91).

7. *convertere, anima mea, in requiem tuam,* R., G., Trac.
revertere—, Ep. XXII (p. 169), Ep. LI (p. 402), Is. (M. XXIV. 391).
revertere—requiam tuam, H.

8. *eruet pedes meos a lapsu,* Is. (M. XXIV. 70).
omit *eruet*—, R., G.

9. *placebo domino in regione vivorum,* R., G., Ezech. (M. XXV. 245).
—*regione viventium,* Com., Is. (M. XXIV. 393), Ezech. (M. XXV. 154, 170, 320).
confitebor—, Ep. LI (p. 402).
placebo coram domino—, Trac.

CXV. 2. *excessu mentis meae,* R., Com., Pel. (M. XXIII. 546).
excessu meo, G., Trac.
omnis autem homo mendax, Pel. (M. XXIII. 584).
—omit *autem*—, R., G., Com., Trac., Pel. (M. XXIII. 546).

7. *tu dissolvisti vincula mea,* Is. (M. XXIV. 222).
omit *tu*—, H.
omit *tu—dirupisti*—, R., G., Trac.

CXVI. 1. *et collaudate eum,* R.
laudate eum, G., Jer. (p. 205).

2. *quoniam confirmata est,* R., G.
quia—, Jer. (p. 205).
quia confortata est, H.

CXVII. 6. *dominus mihi adjutor est,* R.
—omit *est,* G.
dominus adjutor meus, Is. (M. XXIV. 490).
dominus auxiliator meus, Ep. I (p. 7), Ep. XXII (p. 151), Ep. CVIII (p. 334), Pel. (M. XXIII. 558).
dominus meus, H.
quid faciat mihi homo, R., G., Ep. I (p. 7), Pel. (M. XXIII. 558), Is. (M. XXIV. 490).
—*faciet*—, Ep. CVIII (p. 334).
—*caro*, Ep. XXII (p. 152).

7. *dominus mihi adjutor est,* R.
—omit *est,* G.
dominus auxiliator meus, Is. (M. XXIV. 490, 554).
dominus mihi auxiliator, H.
ego despiciam inimicos, G., Is. (M. XXIV. 490, 554).
—*videbo*—, R.

8. *bonum est confidere in domino, quam confidere in homine,* R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 574).
—*in principibus,* Ezech. (M. XXV. 122), Hom. (M. XXV. 728).
melius est—, Za. (M. XXV. 1532).
melius est sperare—sperare—, H.

14. *laudatio mea,* R., Za. (M. XXV. 1498).
laus—, G.

15. *vox enim exsultationis,* Za. (M. XXV. 1536).
—omit *enim—,* G.
vox laetitiae, R.

19. *et ingressus in eas,* Ep. XCVIII (p. 187).
omit *et—,* R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 293), Am. (M. XXV. 1045).

20. *haec est porta domini, justi introibunt per eam,* Ep. XCVIII (p. 187).
—omit *est—,* R.
—omit *est—intrabunt—,* Mat. (M. XXVI. 47).
—omit *est—intrabunt in eam,* R., Is. (M. XXIV. 294), Am. (M. XXV. 1045).

22. *hic factus est,* R., G., Ep. XX (p. 107), Jer. (p. 230), Is. (M. XXIV. 322), Za. (M. XXV. 1439).
et factus—, Za. (M. XXV. 1530).

23. *factum est istud,* R., G., Za. (M. XXV. 1439).
—*hoc,* Jer. (p. 230).
factus—hoc, Ep. XX (p. 107).
est mirabile, R., G.
—*mirabilis,* Ep. XX (p. 107).

24. *haec est dies,* G., Ep. XX (p. 107), Is. (M. XXIV. 499), Hom. (M. XXV. 829).
—omit *est—,* R.

25. *salvum me fac,* R., G., Ep. XX (p. 106).
—omit *me—,* Ep. XX (pp. 107, 109).
bene prosperare, R., G.
—*prospera,* Ep. XX (p. 108).
—*conplace,* Ep. XX (p. 109).

26. *benedixímus vos,* R., Ep. XX (p. 108).
—*vobis,* G.

CXVIII. 20. *concupivit anima mea desiderare justificationes tuas,* R., G., Ep. LIII (p. 462).
—*judicia tua,* Is. (M. XXIV. 296).
desideravit—judicia tua, H., Ezech. (M. XXV. 172).

32. *cum dilatasti,* G.
quando—, Is. (M. XXIV. 561).
dum dilatares, R.

39. *quia judicia tua jucunda,* G.
quoniam—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 172).
judicia enim tua—, R.

46. *de testimoniis tuis,* R., G.
in—, H., Jer. (p. 222).

54. *loco peregrinationis meae,* G., Ep. LIII (p. 448).
—*incolatus mei,* R.

62. *ad confitendum tibi, super judicia justificationis tuae,* G., Mat. (M. XXVI. 185).
—*judicia justitiae tuae,* R.
ut confiterer—justitiae tuae, Ep. CIX (p. 355).

67. *priusquam a malitia humiliarer, ego deliqui,* Ep. LI (p. 402).
—omit *a malitia—,* R., G.
antequam—omit *a malitia—peccavi,* Apol. (M. XXIII. 415).
antequam audirem, ego ignoravi, H.

75. *cognovi, domine, quia aequitas judicia tua,* R., G.
—omit *domine—justitia* (*justa*) *judicia —,* Ezech. (M. XXV. 172).
scio—justum judicium tuum, H.

81. *in salutari tuo,* R., Is. (M. XXIV. 296).
in salutare tuum, G.
83. *sicut uter,* R., G.
tamquam—, Ep. XXII (p. 166).
91. *perseverat dies,* G.
permanet—, Mat. (M. XXVI. 178).
perseverant—, R.
96. *nimis,* R., G.
vehementer, Za. (M. XXV. 1465).
103. *quam dulcia faucibus meis eloquia tua,* R., G., Ep. LXXVIII (p. 71).
—*dulcia gutturi meo—,* Ezech. (M. XXV. 1030).
—*dulcia eloquia tua gutturi meo,* Am. (M. XXV. 1095).
—*dulce gutturi meo eloquium tuum,* H.
super mel et favum ori meo, R., Am. (M. XXV. 1095).
—omit *et favum—,* G., Ep. LXXVIII (p. 71), Ezech. (M. XXV. 35), Am. (M. XXV. 1030).
105. *verbum tuum, domine,* R., Jer. (p. 305), Jov. (M. XXIII. 253), Vig. (M. XXIII. 346).
—omit *domine,* G., Jer. (p. 420).
lex tua—omit *domine,* Ag. (M. XXV. 1393).
lux semitis meis ardens, Jer. (p. 420).
—omit *ardens,* Jer. (p. 305), Jov. (M. XXIII. 253), Ag. (M. XXV. 1393).
—*semitae meae*—omit *ardens,* H.
lumen—omit *ardens,* R., G., Vig. (M. XXIII. 346).
108. *voluntaria oris mei,* R., G., Ezech. (M. XXV. 461).

spontanea oris mei, Ezech. (M. XXV. 461).

119. *praevaricantes,* R., G.
praevaricatores, Is. (M. XXIV. 233).

123. *eloquium justitiae,* R., G.
verbum—, Virg. (M. XXIII. 189).

126. *tempus faciendi, domine,* R., G.
—domino, Ep. C (p. 217).

131. *os meum aperui,* R., G., Ezech. (M. XXV. 34, 167, 322).
aperui os meum, Ezech. (M. XXV. 296).

140. *eloquium tuum vehementer,* R., G.
—omit *vehementer,* Ep. XXII (p. 166).

147. *praeveni in maturitate,* R., G.
exspectavi in matutino, Is. (M. XXIV. 346).

154. *judica judicium meum,* R., G.
—causam meam, H., Is. (M. XXIV. 562).

176. *sicut ovis quae periit,* G.
—perierat, R.
—ovis perdita, H.

CXIX. 3. *aut quid apponatur,* R., G., Trac., Ep. XVIII A (p. 92), Apol. (M. XXIII. 429), Pel. (M. XXIII. 584), Ezech. (M. XXV. 26), Am. (M. XXV. 1071).
et quid—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 92).

5. *heu mihi,* G., Trac., Ep. CVIII (p. 307), Jov. (M. XXIII. 334), So. (M. XXV. 1356), Za. (M. XXV. 1536).
heu me, R., Ep. XXII (p. 207), Ep. XXXIX (p. 299).
incolatus meus prolongatus est, R., G., Trac., Za. (M. XXV. 1536).
peregrinatio mea prolongata—, H., Ep.

XXII (p. 207), Ep. XXXIX (p. 299), Ep. CVIII (p. 307), Jov. (M. XXIII. 334), So. (M. XXV. 1356).

6. *incola fuit anima mea,* R., G., Trac., Ep. LXXVIII (p. 50).
peregrinata est—, Ep. XXXIX (p. 299), Ep. CVIII (p. 307), Jer. (p. 22).
peregrina est—, H.

CXX. 1. *in montes unde veniet,* G., Is. (M. XXIV. 494), Ezech. (M. XXV. 330), Ab. (M. XXV. 1315), Za. (M. XXV. 1428).
—veniat, Ep. VII (p. 28), Is. (M. XXIV. 267).
ad montes—, R.

4. *neque dormiet,* G., Jer. (p. 177), Is. (M. XXIV. 31), Dan. (M. XXV. 515).
—obdormiet, R., Ep. LXXV (p. 34), Ep. CIX (p. 355).

6. *quippe sol non uret nos,* Is. (M. XXIV. 597).
omit *quippe—urat—,* Eccl. (M. XXIII. 1064).
omit *quippe—uret te,* R., G., Hom. (M. XXIII. 1134), Is. (M. XXIV. 74, 296, 469, 671), Ezech. (M. XXV. 261), Am. (M. XXV. 1092).

CXXII. 1. *in coelo,* R., Is. (M. XXIV. 23, 494, 500).
—coelis, G., Com., Is. (M. XXIV. 256), Za. (M. XXV. 1532).

2. *misereatur nostri,* G., Virg. (M. XXIII. 189).
—nobis, R.

CXXIII. 5. *torrentem pertransivit anima nostra,* R., G., Com., Jon. (M. XXV. 1135), Ab. (M. XXV. 1302).
torrens transivit super animam meam, Am. (M. XXV. 1055).
torrens transisset super animam nostram, H.
7. *anima nostra sicut passer,* R., G., Hom. (M. XXIII. 1141), Is. (M. XXIV. 276), Ezech. (M. XXV. 275, 316), Hom. (M. XXV. 783), Os. (M. XXV. 898), Am. (M. XXV. 1016).
anima mea—, Is. (M. XXIV. 269).
—*quasi passer,* Ep. XXII (p. 147).
—*quasi avis,* H.

CXXIV. 5. *ad obligationem,* R.
—*obligationes,* G.
in obligationes, Com., Is. (M. XXIV. 567).

CXXV. 1. *sicut consolati,* R., G.
tamquam—, Is. (M. XXIV. 502).
2. *repletum est,* R., G.
impletum—, Is. (M. XXIV. 669).
implebitur, H.
5. *in gaudio,* R., Os. (M. XXV. 872).
in exultatione, G.
6. *mittentes semina,* R., G.
portantes—, Jer. (p. 384), Mat. (M. XXVI. 60).
in exsultatione, R., Jer. (p. 384).
cum—, G., Mat. (M. XXVI. 60).

CXXVI. 1. *nisi enim dominus,* Pel. (M. XXIII. 569).
—omit *enim*—, R., G., Pel. (M. XXIII.

500), Is. (M. XXIV. 300, 334), Ezech. (M. XXV. 115, 138, 169, 276).

in vanum laboraverunt, G., Pel. (M. XXIII. 569), Is. (M. XXIV. 300, 334), Ezech. (M. XXV. 115, 138, 169, 276).

—laborant, R., Pel. (M. XXIII. 500), Ezech. (M. XXV. 115).

nisi enim dominus, Is. (M. XXIV. 225).

—omit *enim*—, R., G., Pel. (M. XXIII. 500, 569), Is. (M. XXIV. 300, 334), Ezech. (M. XXV. 138, 169).

frustra vigilat qui custodit eam, G., Pel. (M. XXIII. 500), Ezech. (M. XXV. 138, 169).

—vigilavit—, Is. (M. XXIV. 300).

in vanum—, Pel. (M. XXIII. 569).

in vanum vigilabit—, Pel. (M. XXIII. 569), Is. (M. XXIV. 334).

in vanum vigilant—custodiunt eam, R.

in vanum vigilabunt—custodiunt eam, Is. (M. XXIV. 225).

2. *in vanum est vobis ante lucem surgere, surgite,* R.

—vobis est—surgere, surgere, Ep. XXXIV (p. 260).

omit *in*—, G.

2. *haec est haereditas,* R.

ecce haereditas, G., Ep. LXXIX (p. 94).

4. *ita filii excussorum,* R., G., Com., Ep. LXV (p. 630), Na. (M. XXV. 1245, 1250).

sic—, Ep. XXXIV (p. 262).

5. *implevit desiderium suum ex ipsis,* R., G.

—pharetram suam—, H.

repleverit pharetram suam—, Ep. XXXIV (p. 263).

explevit—ex illis, Com.
non confundetur cum loquetur, G., Ep. CXVIII (p. 443).
—dum—, R.
confundentur—loquentur, H., Za. (M. XXV. 1474).

CXXVII. 2. *labores manuum tuarum quia manducabis,* G.
—omit *quia—,* Trac., Jer. (p. 89), Is. (M. XXIV. 278).
labores fructuum tuorum manducabis, R., Ep. XXXIV (p. 264).
3. *novellae olivarum,* R., G., Jov. (M. XXIII. 241), Is. (M. XXIV. 243, 650, 658), Os. (M. XXV. 924), Ab. (M. XXV. 1334), Za. (M. XXV. 1524).
novella—, Trac., Ep. XXII (p. 171).
4. *omnis homo,* R.
omit *omnis—,* G., Ep. XCVI (p. 178), Is. (M. XXIV. 650).
5. *benedicat te dominus ex Sion, et videas quae bona sunt in Jerusalem,* R., Ep. XCVI (p. 178).
benedicat tibi—videas bona Jerusalem, G., [*videas—,* Za. (M. XXV. 1427).

CXXVIII. 6. *fenum aedificiorum, quod priusquam evellatur, arescit,* R.
—tectorum—exaruit, G.
—exaruit, Am. (M. XXV. 1012).

CXXIX. 3. *si iniquitates observaveris, domine, domine, quis sustinebit,* R., G., Os. (M. XXV. 840).

—*attendas*—omit second *domine*—, Is. (M. XXIV. 209).
—*adtendis*—omit second *domine*—, Ep. XXI (p. 132).

CXXXI. 3. *si ascendero in lectum stratus mei*, R., Ep. CVIII (p. 317).
—*strati mei*, G.
—*ascendam super stratum meum*, Ep. CXIX (p. 464).
—*super lectum*—, H.
4. *si dedero somnum*, R., G., Trac., Ep. CVIII (p. 317), Ep. CXIX (p. 464).
ne dederis—, Is. (M. XXIV. 544).
et palpebris, G., Trac., Ep. CVIII (p. 317), Ep. CXIX (p. 464).
aut—, R.
6. *invenimus eam*, G., Ep. LXXVIII (p. 75).
—*eum*, R.
7. *introibimus in tabernacula*, R., Ep. CVIII (p. 318).
tabernaculum, R., G.
adorabimus, R., G., Ep. CVIII (p. 318).
adoremus, H., Ezech. (M. XXV. 417).
11. *de fructu ventris tui ponam super sedem meam*, R., Mi. (M. XXV. 1197).
—*sedem tuam*, G., Mat. (M. XXVI. 21).
—*fructu lumbi tui*—, Hom. (M. XXV. 695).
—*fructu lumbi tui—thronum tuum*, Na. (M. XXV. 1244).
—*thronum tuum*, H.

CXXXII. 2. *barbam, barbam Aaron*, R., G., Trac., Ep. LXV (p. 635), Ezech. (M. XXV. 256).
omit one *barbam*—, Com.

CXXXIV. 7. *ab extremo terrae,* G., Hom. (M. XXV. 628).
—extremis—, R.
qui producit ventos, R., G., Did. (M. XXIII. 118).
et eduxit ventos, Hom. (M. XXV. 629, 630).
eduxit enim ventos, Hom. (M. XXV. 630).
educens—, H.
16. *et non videbunt,* R., G.
—vident, Jer. (p. 75).
17. *et non audient,* R., G.
—audiunt, Jer. (p. 75).
19 & 20. *illic sedimus,* R., G.
ibi—, H., Is. (M. XXIV. 440), Ezech. (M. XXV. 18), Hom. (M. XXV. 700), Za. (M. XXV. 1458).
dum recordaremur tui, Sion, R.
—omit *tui—,* Hom. (M. XXV. 700).
cum—omit tui—, G., Trac., Za. (M. XXV. 1458).
3. *verba cantionum,* R., G.
—canticorum, Trac., Hom. (M. XXV. 700).
8. *retribuet tibi retributionem tuam, quam tu retribuisti nobis,* R., *—tuam*], Ep. XXII (p. 152).
—omit *tu—,* G., Trac., Abd. (M. XXV. 1110).
restituet tibi quod restituisti nobis, Com.

CXXXVII. 2. *super nos nomen sanctum tuum,* R.
super omnes nomen—, Za. (M. XXV. 1530).
super omne nomen factum tuum, G.

3. *multiplicabis in anima mea virtutem tuam,* R.
—omit *tuam,* G., Trac.
multiplicabis me in anima mea, in virtute tua, Is. (M. XXIV. 501).

6. *quoniam excelsus dominus et humilia respicit,* R., G.
quia—, R.
excelsus enim dominus—prospicit, Is. (M. XXIV. 556).

CXXXVIII. 3. *funiculum meum tu investigasti,* Jo. (M. XXV. 986).
—omit *tu—,* G.
directionem meam investigasti, R.

6. *et non potero,* G., Pel. (M. XXIII. 509).
nec potero, R.

7. *quo ibo a spiritu tuo,* R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 533, 652), Am. (M. XXV. 1088).
—ab spiritu—, Com., Ep. LIX (p. 546), Jer. (p. 284).
quo vadam—, Is. (M. XXIV. 307).
quo abibo ab—, Ep. XCVIII (p. 197).
et a facie tua quo fugiam, R., Ep. LIX (p. 546), Jer. (p. 284), Is. (M. XXIV. 533, 652), Am. (M. XXV. 1088).
aut—, Com., Is. (M. XXIV. 307).
et quo a facie tua fugiam, G.

8. *tu illic es,* R., G., Jer. (p. 284), Am. (M. XXV. 1088).
omit *tu—,* Is. (M. XXIV. 652).
—ibi—, Com., Ep. LIX (p. 546), Is. (M. XXIV. 533).
et si descendero in infernum, ades, R.

omit *et—tu ades,* Jer. (p. 284).
omit *et—ibi es,* Am. (M. XXV. 1088).
omit *et—ad inferna descendero—,* Is. (M. XXIV. 652).
omit *et—ad infernum*], Ep. LIX (p. 546).

9. *diluculo,* G., Jer. (p. 284), Am. (M. XXV. 1088).
ante lucem, R.
in extremis maris, G., Ep. LIX (p. 546), Jer. (p. 284), Am. (M. XXV. 1088).
—postremo—, R.

10. *illuc manus tua deducet me,* R., G., Jer. (p. 284), Am. (M. XXV. 1088).
ibi—, H., Ep. LIX (p. 546).

12. *tenebrae non obscurabuntur a te et nox sicut dies illuminabitur,* G., Jer. (pp. 285, 424), Is. (M. XXIV. 334).
—abs te—, R.
—quasi dies—, Com.

13. *tu, domine, possedisti renes meos,* R.
—omit *domine—,* G., Ep. VII (p. 28).

21. *nonne odientes te, domine, odivi,* H., Ep. LI (pp. 406, 632), Eccl. (M. XXIII. 1082).
—oderam, Joan. (M. XXIII. 362).
—odio habui, Ep. CIX (p. 353).
—qui oderunt te—oderam, G.
—qui oderunt te—oderam illos, R.

24. *deduc me, domine, in via recta,* Is. (M. XXIV. 553).
—omit *domine—via aeterna,* R., G.
—omit *domine—viam aeternam,* R.

CXXXIX. 6. *juxta iter,* R., G.
—semitam, H., Jer. (p. 220), Pel. (M.

XXIII. 561), Ezech. (M. XXV. 205), Os. (M. XXV. 895), Am. (M. XXV. 1016).

11. *carbones ignis,* R., Ezech. (M. XXV. 26).
—omit *ignis,* G.

CXL. 3. *ostium circumstantiae,* R., G., Trac.
ostium munitum, Apol. (M. XXIII. 424), Is. (M. XXIV. 305, 382).

4. *ut non declines cor meum in verbum malum,* R.
omit *ut—verba malitiae,* G., Trac., Apol. (M. XXIII. 424).
ne declines—verba malitiae, Ep. LI (p. 399), Is. (M. XXIV. 382), Os. (M. XXV. 904).
ne declines—, H.

5. *corripiet me justus in misericordia, et increpabit me,* R., G., Trac.
emendabit me—et arguet me, Ep. LVI (p. 503).
corripiat me—et arguet me, H.
oleum autem peccatoris, R., G., Trac., Ep. LIV (p. 503), Ezech. (M. XXV. 131, 256), Ag. (M. XXV. 1398, 1409).
—omit *autem—,* Eccl. (M. XXIII. 1085), Os. (M. XXV. 831, 924), Mat. (M. XXVI. 44).

6. *juncti petrae,* G., Pel. (M. XXIII. 560).
continuati—, R.
juxta petram, H., Is. (M. XXIV. 434).
quoniam potuerunt, R., G.
—placuerunt, Pel. (M. XXIII. 560).

7. *sicut crassitudo terrae erupta est,* G.
—eructat, R.

quasi—dirupti sunt, Pel. (M. XXIII. 561).
dissipata sunt ossa, R., G., Is. (M. XXIV. 571).
dispersa—, Pel. (M. XXIII. 561).

10. *singulariter sum ego donec transeam,* R., G.
solitarius—pertranseam, Jer. (p. 193).

CXLI. 8. *educ de carcere,* R., Ep. LI (p. 402), Jer. (p. 348), Is. (M. XXIV. 391).
—de custodia, G., Trac.

CXLII. 2. *ne entres,* R., Pel. (M. XXIII. 505, 584).
non—, G., Trac.
quia non justificabitur in conspectu tuo, R., G., Trac., Pel. (M. XXIII. 505), [*non—,* Jer. (pp. 29, 163, 245), Apol. (M. XXIII. 416), Pel. (M. XXIII. 508, 584), Hom. (M. XXV. 757).
et non—in conspectu ejus, Is. (M. XXIV. 209), [*non—,* Ep. XXI (p. 139).

8. *notam fac mihi, domine, viam,* Is. (M. XXIV. 554).
—omit *domine—,* G., Trac.
—mihi fac—omit *domine—,* R.
quia ad te, domine, levavi animam meam, R.
—omit *domine—,* G.
quoniam—omit *domine—,* H.
quoniam ad te levavi oculos meos, Is. (M. XXIV. 554).

10. *doce me facere voluntatem tuam, quia tu es deus meus,* R.
—deus meus es tu, G.

—*ut faciam—deus meus es tu,* Is. (M. XXIV. 640).
—*ut faciam—tu deus meus,* H.
spiritus tuus bonus ipse deducet me in terram, Ezech. (M. XXV. 109).
—omit *ipse—,* G.
—omit *ipse—terra,* R., Trac.
—omit *ipse—in viam,* R.

CXLIII. 4. *similis factus est,* R., G., Trac.
assimilatus est, H., Pel. (M. XXIII. 537).
dies ejus sicut umbra praetereunt, R., G., Trac.
—*velut umbra pertranseunt,* Pel. (M. XXIII. 537).
dies nostri quasi umbra pertransierunt, Ezech. (M. XXV. 290).
—*quasi umbra pertransiens,* H.
5. *inclina coelos tuos,* R., G., Trac.
—*tuos coelos,* Ep. XCVIII (p. 188).

CXLIV. 8. *misericors enim et miserator dominus, patiens et multae miserationis,* Jon. (M. XXV. 1137).
clemens et misericors dominus—, H.
—omit *enim—et multum misericors,* R.
miserator et misericors—et multum misericors, G.
9. *suavis est dominus omnibus,* Com.
—omit *est—,* Pel. (M. XXIII. 557).
bonus—omit *est—,* H.
—omit *est—universis,* R., G.
miserationes ejus super omnia opera ejus, R., G.
misericordiae ejus—, Com.

misericordia ejus—opera illius, Pel. (M. XXIII. 557).
misericordia ejus in universa opera ejus, H.

CXLV. 2. *nolite confidere in principibus,* R., G., Com., Trac.
—in hominibus, Ezech. (M. XXV. 122).
8. *erigit elisos,* R., G., Ezech. (M. XXV. 32).
—allisos, H., Trac., Ezech. (M. XXV. 74).
9. *custodit advenas,* G.
—advenam, R.
diligit—, Is. (M. XXIV. 527).

CXLVI. 1. *quoniam bonus est psalmus,* R., G., Ep. XXVI (p. 222).
*—bonum—*omit *est—,* Trac.
*quia—*omit *est—,* Com.
3. *sanat contritos corde,* R., G., Trac., Is. (M. XXIV. 65).
sanat infirmitates eorum, Ezech. (M. XXV. 330).
4. *omnibus eis nomina vocat,* R., G.
—vocans, Trac.
omnes eas ex nomine vocat, Is. (M. XXIV. 410).
omnes nomine suo vocat, H.
6. *suscipiens mansuetos,* R., G., Trac.
assumens—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 37, 96).
8. *parat terrae pluviam,* R., G., Trac.
dat—, Is. (M. XXIV. 477).

CXLVIII. 4. *laudate eum, coeli coelorum, et aquae omnes, quae super coelos sunt, laudent nomen domini,* G.,*—coelorum*], Trac.

—omit *omnes*—, R.
laudate dominum—aqua quae super coelos est, laudet—, Ezech. (M. XXV. 21), Hom. (M. XXV. 706).

14. *exaltavit cornu populi sui*, R., G.
—*cornu Christi sui*, Za. (M. XXV. 1428).

CXLIX. 1. *cantate domino canticum novum*, R., G., Trac.
—*hymnum novum*, Ep. XCVI (p. 159).

CL. 6. *omnis spiritus laudet dominum*, R., G.
omnis flatus laudat—, Is. (M. XXIV. 558).
omne quod spirat laudat—, Is. (M. XXIV. 558).
omne quod spirat—, H.

A study of the lemmata shows that in the vast majority of cases Jerome varied those from the Gallican and Roman Psalters in just the same manner as in the lemmata in the Commentary to Jeremiah. Thus, in his Commentary to Isaiah there are 165 variants to 49 readings from the Gallican, and 21 from the Roman Psalter. The corresponding figures in the Commentary to Ezechiel are 87, 26, 16, in the Commentary to Jeremiah, 49, 14, 9, in the Epistles, 124, 29, 11; or, taking all these sources together, we get 73% of variations to 19% of readings from the Gallican and 8% from the Roman Psalter. Reiter's conclusions are thus borne out, except as to the Psalter, for his statement that Jerome quoted from his translation from the Hebrew and from the *Antiqua*[3] is not correct, as in the above-mentioned sources only 15 lemmata, that is, barely 2%,

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. LII.

can be ascribed to the translation from the Hebrew, and scarcely a larger number to the *Antiqua*. Reiter committed the error of considering as due to the translation from the Hebrew such passages as are also found in the Roman Psalter, whereas the latter is the older source, hence cannot be taken as originating in the translation from the Hebrew. If we add the passages which are identical in the Gallican and Roman Psalters, and which are not included in the calculation, the percentage of variants would be considerably reduced, but still would vastly surpass the combined quotations from his own versions. Thus we get the definite result that Jerome was not addicted to any one translation, almost entirely neglected his translation from the Hebrew, preferred the Gallican version to the Roman Psalter, and considered himself at liberty to vary the latter two at will.

All that is in complete agreement with Jerome's specific statements that he was not particular as to the wording of his translation, since he was concerned only with the rendering of the sense, that his Hebrew translation was merely a scholar's critical apparatus, which was not to interfere with the rendering of the Vulgate text from the Septuagint, and that his Gallican Psalter was a more literary rendering of his earlier translation, in which he had followed the Vulgate text more closely. No rendering was more authoritative than another, and there was no reason why verbal changes should not be made, so long as the dogma of the church was not affected thereby. Indeed, Jerome had more than once intimated that the reading in the churches need not be changed in accordance with his own translations, and that his detractors had no reason to revile his literary efforts, which only emulated the activity of Origen and other Bible scholars. The method pursued by Jerome shows conclusively that it is impossible for him to have recommended his own Gallican

version, as against the Roman Psalter, on the ground that it followed the Hebrew truth more closely. Up to his dying day he continued to quote the Roman Psalter, hardly ever referred to his translation from the Hebrew, except in learned discussions, such as in Epistle LXV, and gave the lemmata from the Gallican Psalter in less than one fifth of all cases.

The extent of the liberties taken by Jerome with the lemmata from the Psalter is best illustrated in the multiple quotations in the same Commentary, say, for example, that on Isaiah. Here we have IX. 6 once from R. G., once from St. Aug.; XVIII. 9, once from R. G., once from Hil., Amb., or H.; XXI. 28, no tangible source, but recollections of African Psalter; XXVIII. 9, from R. G., one amplification; XXXI. 4, one nearly like R. G., one changed; XXXI. 9, one from R. G., one, slightly changed, from H.; XXXIII. 14, one from R., one from Tertul.; XXXVI. 36, two variations, by omission of a word, from G.; XXXVII. 7, two variations of R. G., by change of words; XXXVII. 8, one from G., one with change from H.; XXXVIII. 13, two variations hard to classify; XLI. 2, one from G., one with a word from H.; XLIII. 19, two variations hard to classify; XLIV. 3, one from R. G., one unaccountable variation; XLIX, 3, one from R., one from Cypr., Iren., or H.; L. 19, one from G., two from Cypr.; LXIV. 10, one from G., one from St. Aug.; LXVII. 27, one from R., one from G., one variation of R., one variation of G.; LXXXV. 17, one from G., one unaccounted for; LXXXVIII. 33, one from H., two variations, with one word from St. Aug.; CI. 26, two variations on R. G., from St. Aug., Prosp., or H.; CXI. 1, one from G., one variation; CXX. 1, one from G., one from Sangerm.; CXXIII. 7, one from R. G., one variation; CXXVI. 2, one from Amb. or Hil., one variation; CXXXVIII. 7, two variations of G., one greater variation of G.; CXXXVIII. 8, two variations of G.

It would, therefore, seem that the basis of Jerome's lemmata is his own Gallican or Roman Psalter, with constant borrowings from the African Psalter and occasionally from his translation from the Hebrew. The almost universal custom of varying the same lemma, as evidenced in the list from the majority of his works, makes it an absolute certainty that he was not and could not have been pedantic in this matter. While Jerome freely borrowed from the Africans, Augustine, who had been opposed to Jerome's translation, from 415 on himself borrowed freely from the Gallican Psalter.[4]

While Jerome's second version was gaining favor with Augustine and in France, the Spanish or Mozarabic Psalter drew exclusively from Jerome's first version, the Roman Psalter, but with certain variations from the African Psalter and from Jerome's translation from the Hebrew.[5] Now out of 165 passages discussed by comparison in the Letter to the Goths, not less than 75 criticisms of the Goths are mere lemmata from Jerome's Roman Psalter, which Jerome is made to reject in favor of the lemmata of the Gallican Psalter. Although they speciously claim to adduce the Greek text of the Septuagint, they invariably insist upon the correctness of the lemmata from the Mozarabic Psalter, which agrees with those in the Roman Psalter.[6]

Gallican Psalter	*Mozarabic Psalter.*
V.	
9. dirige in conspectu *meo* *uiam tuam*	dirige in conspectu *tuo* *uiam meam*

4 P. Capelle, *Le texte du psautier latin en Afrique*, in *Collectanea biblica latina cura et studio monachorum S. Benedicti*, Rome 1913, vol. IV, p. 143 ff.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 222 ff.

6 The first column is quoted from Migne, vol. XXIX, the second, from Migne, vol. LXXXVI.

VI.	
11. erubescant et conturbentur *uehementer* omnes inimici mei	omit *uehementer*
VIII.	
4. quoniam uidebo caelos *tuos*	omit *tuos*
XVI.	
2. oculi *tui* uideant aequitates	oculi *mei*
8. custodi me, ut pupillam oculi	custodi me, *domine*
13. exurge, domine, praeueni *eum* et subplanta *eum;* eripe animam meam ab inpio	praeueni *eos* et subplanta *eos*
XVII.	
13. grando et carbones ignis	omitted
34. qui perfecit pedes meos tamquam *ceruorum*	tamquam *cerui*
40. subplantasti insurgentes in me subtus me	*omnes* insurgentes
XVIII.	
6. exultauit ut gigans ad currendam uiam *suam*	omit *suam*
XIX.	
5. tribuat tibi secundum cor tuum	tibi *dominus*
10. et exaudi nos *in die, qua* inuocauerimus te	*in quocumque die*

XXIV.

3.	confundantur *omnes* inique agentes	omit *omnes*
21.	innocentes et recti adhaeserunt mihi, quia sustinui te	te, *domine*

XXVI.

6.	et nunc exaltauit caput meum	nunc *ecce*

XXVIII.

10.	dominus diluuium *inhabitare facit*	dominus diluuium *inhabitat*

XXX.

5.	quoniam tu es protector meus	add *domine*
23.	ego autem dixi *in excessu mentis meae*	*in pauore meo*

XXXI.

2.	nec est in *spiritu* eius dolus	in *ore* eius dolus
4.	conuersus sum in aerumna *mea*	omit *mea*

XXXVI.

23.	et uiam eius uolet	uolet *nimis*

XXXVIII.

12.	uerumtamen u a n e *conturbatur* omnis homo	omit *conturbatur*

XL.

7.	et *si* ingrediebatur, ut uideret	omit *si*

XLI.

12. spera in deum, quoniam *adhuc* confitebor illi	omit *adhuc*

XLIV.

6. sagittae tuae acutae	acutae, *potentissime*

XLVII.

9. sicut audiuimus, sic uidimus	sic *et* uidimus

XLVIII.

21. homo, *cum in honore* esset	*et* homo, *in honore cum* esset

XLIX.

20. sedens aduersus fratrem tuum *loquebaris*	aduersus fratrem tuum *detrahebas*

LIV.

9. a *pusillanimitate spiritus*	*pusillanimitas*

LVIII.

11. deus ostendit mihi inter inimicos meos	deus *meus*
12. ne occidas eos, ne quando obliuiscantur *populi tui*	*legis tuae*

LIX.

11. quis deducet me usque in Idumaeam	*aut* quis deducat me

LX.

9. psallam nomini tuo in saeculum *saeculi*	omit *saeculi*

LXI.

9. quia deus adiutor noster *in aeternum*	omit *in aeternum*

LXIV.

8. qui conturbas profundum maris, sonum fluctuum eius	add *quis sustinebit?*

LXV.

15. holocausta medullata offeram tibi cum incensu *arietum*	cum incensu *et arietibus*
19. propterea exaudiuit deus	exaudiuit *me* deus

LXVII.

20. deus benedictus dominus die cottidie	*d o m i n u s benedictus* deus, benedictus dominus die cottidie
25. *uiderunt* ingressus tui, deus ingressus dei mei, regis *mei* qui est in sancto	*uisi sunt* ingressus tui, deus omit *mei* after "regis"

LXVIII.

31. laudabo nomen dei cum cantico	dei *mei*

LXXI.

19. et benedictum nomen maiestatis eius in aeternum	in aeternum *et in saeculum saeculi*

LXXII.

26. defecit *caro mea et cor meum*	defecit *cor meum et caro mea*

LXXIII.

1. ut quid, *deus, reppulisti* in finem	*reppulisti deus*
3. quanta malignatus est inimicus in *sancto*	in *sanctis*

LXXIV.

2. *narrabimus* mirabilia tua	*narrabo omnia* mirabilia

LXXVII.

31. et occidit pingues eorum	πλείστιν
69. in terra, *quam fundauit* in saecula	in terra *fundauit eam* in saecula

LXXXII.

13. hereditate possideamus sanctuarium dei	possideamus *nobis*

LXXXIII.

3. cor meum et caro mea *exultauit* in deum uiuum	*exultauerunt*
7. in ualle *lacrimarum*	*plorationis*

LXXXV.

14. et non proposuerunt *te* in conspectu suo	omit *te*
15. et tu, domine deus, miserator et misericors	deus *meus*

LXXXVIII.

20. tunc locutus es in uisione *sanctis* tuis	*filiis* tuis

LXXXIX.

2.	a saeculo et usque in saeculum tu es, *deus*	omit *deus*
10.	quoniam superuenit mansuetudo et corripiemur	mansuetudo *super nos*

XCVII.

3.	recordatus est misericordiae suae	misericordiae suae *Iacob*

CI.

8.	uigilaui et factus sum sicut passer solitarius in *tecto*	in *aedificio*
11.	a facie irae et indignationis tuae	a facie irae *tuae*

CII.

9.	non *in perpetuo* irascetur	non *in finem*

CIII.

4.	qui facis angelos *tuos* spiritus	angelos *suos*
14.	ut *educas* panem de terra	*educat*
25.	hoc mare magnum et spatiosum *manibus*	omit *manibus*

CIV.

33.	et contriuit lignum finium eorum	*omne* lignum

CV.

7.	non fuerunt memores multitudinis misericordiae tuae	*et* non

CVI.

30.	et deduxit eos in portum uoluntatis *eorum*	in portum uoluntatis *suae*

CVII.

10.	mihi alienigenae amici *facti sunt*	*subditi sunt*

CXIII.

11.	deus autem noster in caelo	in caelo *et in terra*

CXVII.

10.	et in nomine domini, *quia* ultus sum in eos	omit *quia*

CXVIII.

47.	et meditabar in mandatis tuis, quae dilexi	add *uehementer*
59.	cogitaui uias *meas*	(*iuxta*) uias *tuas*
69.	ego autem in toto c o r d e scrutabor mandata tua	in toto corde *meo*
109.	anima mea in manibus *meis* semper; et legem tuam non sum oblitus	in manibus *tuis*

CXXXV.

7.	qui fecit luminaria magna	magna *solus*

CXXXVIII.

4.	quia non est *sermo* in lingua mea	*dolus* in lingua

CXXXIX.

6.	funes extenderunt *in laqueum*	extenderunt *laqueum pedibus meis*

Far more instructive are the cases where the lemmata defended by the Goths are identical with those in the

Gallican and Roman Psalters, both of which Jerome is made to reject in favor of lemmata not recorded in any of Jerome's writings.

Lemmata defended by Jerome.	Lemmata suggested by the Goths, and found in the Roman and Gallican Psalters
XLI.	
6. deus meus	*et* deus meus
XLIII.	
10. non egredieris	non egredieris, *deus*
XLVIII.	
16. cum *liberauerit* me	cum *acceperit* me
XLIX.	
22. et sit, qui eripiat	et *non* sit, qui eripiat
LVIII.	
11. *uoluntas* ejus	*misericordia* ejus
14. finium terrae	*et* finium terrae
LXII.	
2. sitiuit *tibi*	sitivit *in te*
LXXI.	
11. reges	reges *terrae*
18. deus, deus Israhel	*deus* only once
LXXII.	
17. intellegam	*et* intellegam
LXXV.	
6. manibus suis	*in* manibus suis

LXXIX.

10. radices ejus *hinc* omit *hinc*

CX.

1. in toto corde in toto corde *meo*

CXIX.

2. a lingua dolosa *et* a lingua dolosa

CXXXIX.

14. habitabunt *et* habitabunt

Unfortunately the majority of these lemmata are not recorded in Jerome outside the Gallican and Roman Psalters, hence cannot be discussed at greater length. LXII. 2 is so recorded, however, and at once shows the impossibility of ascribing the discussion of this verse to Jerome, for he quotes it six times as *sitivit in te,* once as *sitivit ad te,* and never as *sitivit tibi,* which is found in Hilarius and *Casinensis.* Of the lemmata which Jerome is here supposed to defend, four are found in *Casinensis,* two of which are also in the translation from the Hebrew, and one in the *Antiqua;* two other lemmata are in the translation from the Hebrew. In XXII. 5, already discussed, Jerome defends a Gallican and Roman lemma, indeed, but he used the rejected lemma four times, against three instances of the other lemma. In LIV. 9 the Goths' lemma, *expectabam deum,* is found only in the Mozarabic *expectabam dominum.* The lemma of LXVII. 25 does not agree with either the Gallican or the Roman Psalter, but is found in the *Utrecht Psalter.*

Summing all up, we get 93 Mozarabic lemmata defended by the Goths in 163 passages, that is, more than 58% of the quotations are distinctly Mozarabic. If there existed a complete study of all Spanish Psalters, there

cannot be any doubt that we should have a much larger percentage still, if not a complete agreement with the Mozarabic sources. This much is certain, *the Goths are made to defend the Mozarabic Psalter, while Jerome is made to defend the Gallican Psalter as modified after Jerome's time.* Consequently the Letter to the Goths can belong only to a period when two schools of text criticism were at work, one of them working for the Vulgate reading of the Psalter, that is, for the establishment of a reliable text based on the Gallican Psalter, the other clinging to the Roman Psalter, as modified and in use among the Spanish Goths. The only period when such a rivalry took place is that of Charlemagne, and the only country where the two schools met is France of Carolingian times, hence the forgery of the Letter is to be placed near the year 800, when the school of Alcuin was trying to introduce uniformly Jerome's second translation of the Psalter throughout the Empire. The Letter was forged in order to get Jerome's authority for the overthrow of his own first translation, which was in use among the Spanish Goths lately colonized in France. The forger had before him a corrupt copy of the Gallican Psalter, and apparently also a corrupt copy of the Mozarabic Psalter. With the aid of these, and occasional references to the *Hexapla,* as well as an abundant application of the scissors to Jerome's writings, the forger concocted the Letter to the Goths, which has created no end of havoc in historical studies of the early Middle Ages, because it has formed the point of issue of Gothic studies and text criticism. As a Hieronymian document it is valueless, but it will serve us greatly in determining the extent and nature of Hieronymian studies in Carolingian times, and in comprehending the method underlying the formation of the Gothic Bible at the same period.

CAROLINGIAN PLAGIARISM.

The exegetical activity of Carolingian scholarship did not generally go beyond compilations from the patristic literature, especially from Jerome.[1] As a rule, the authors indicated the sources from which they quoted copiously and without any verbal changes, but occasionally they consciously or unconsciously mystified the reader by transposing and reediting passages from their authorities so that it is not always easy to locate their borrowings. For our purpose, since we wish to ascertain the forger's method in borrowing from Jerome, it will suffice to study Paschasius Radbertus' *Expositio in Psalmum XLIV*,[2] which is based on Jerome's *Ad Principiam virginem explanatio psalmi XLIV.*[3].

Jerome's *Explanatio.*	Paschasius Radbertus' *Expositio.*
Q u a m multae Susannae, quod interpretatur 'lilium,' quae c a n d o r e pudicitiae sponso serta conponunt et coronam spineam mutant in gloriam triumphantis! habes ibi in studio scripturarum et in sanctimonia mentis et corporis magistras Marcellam	Quoniam vos estis, quae virore pudicitiae, et splendore castae dilectionis, sponso serta componitis, et coronam spineam mutatis quotidie in gloriam triumphantis, quae per campos Scripturarum, indesinenter velut apes flores legitis, et per prata

[1] A. E. Schoenbach, *Ueber einige Evangelienkommentare des Mittelalters*, in *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. CXLVI, part 4.

[2] Migne, vol. CXX, col. 993 ff.

[3] *CSEL.*, vol. LIV, p. 616 ff. (Ep. LXV).

et Asellam: quarum altera te per prata uirentia et uarios diuinorum uoluminum flores ducat ad eum, qui dicit in Cantico: *ego flos campi et lilium conuallium,* altera, ipsa flos domini, tecum mereatur audire: *ut lilium in medio spinarum, sic proxima mea in medio filiarum.*

virentia quaeque mentis et corporis labore pabula virtutum colligitis.... Ad hoc quippe varios divinorum voluminum flores carpitis, uti mella vobis dulcescant spiritalia in animo, variis ornamentorum intus decorata virtutibus. Agitis itaque quomodo ad eum pertingere possitis, qui de se dicit in Canticis: *Ego flos campi, et lilium convallium* (col. 997 f.).

Et quia de floribus et liliis loqui coepimus semperque uirginitas floribus conparatur, oportunum mihi uidetur, ut ad florem Christi scribens de multis floribus disputem.

Sed quia virginitas, quae semper floribus comparatur, in membris Ecclesiae gloriosior portio praecellit, et specialis in eis virtus esse probatur, opportunissime mihi occurrit de his ad vos scriberem omnibus, quae vere flores Christi estis, et Ecclesiarum lilia (col. 996).

Quadragesimum quartum psalmum legens in titulo repperi: *in finem pro his, qui commutabuntur, filiorum Core ‹in› intelligentiam, canticum pro dilecto.* in Hebraico scriptum est: *lamanasse al sosanim labne core meschil sir ididoth,*

Sed cum haec ex voto tractarem, ut restituerem paucis quod promiseram, mox in vestibulo psalmi, id est in titulo, reperi, in finem, pro his qui commutabuntur filiorum Chore intelligentia canticum praedilecto. Deinde Hebraicam veritatem con-

quod nos Latine uertimus: *uictori pro liliis filiorum Core, eruditionis canticum amantissimi.* Symmachus more suo manifestius 'triumphum' pro 'floribus' interpretatus est (p. 619).

siderans, juxta beatum Hieronymum, in qua scriptum est: Victori pro liliis filiorum Chore, eruditionis canticum amantissimi. Ubi Symmachus more suo manifestius interpretatus est *triumphus pro floribus* (col. 996).

Hoc idcirco dixerim, quia Symmachus hunc psalmum pro floribus interpretatus est, ne vos ulla liliorum praesentis saeculi, seu florum decipiant blandimenta (col. 999).

Igitur 'sosanim' uel 'pro his, qui commutandi sunt' uel in 'lilia' transfertur et 'flores' et 'meschil' quoque et 'eruditionem' et 'doctissimum' sonat, 'ididia' antiquum Salomonis est nomen, qui alio sensu 'pacificus' appellatur (p. 619 f.).

Ista igitur est intelligentia filiorum Chore, istud eruditionis canticum, juxta Hebraicum, nam *Melchil* apud eos *eruditionem* vel *doctissimum* sonat. Idida antiquum nomen est Salomonis, quod tam *pacificum* quam et *dilectum* sonat (col. 1010).

Recte, qui in saeculorum fine mutandi sunt, de quibus apostolus loquitur: *omnes dormiemus, sed non omnes inmutabimur,* referuntur ad finem. et hoc ipsum mysterium lectorem praeparat ad intellegentiam

Quia vera intelligentia plenam affert eruditionem; sicuti et vera eruditio intelligentiam viri prudentis. Ac per hoc, ut dixi paulo superius, mysterium hujus cantici lectorem spiritalem requirit et intentum. Alioquin

spiritalem. ubi enim simplex et apertus est sensus, quid necesse est audientem intellegentiae praemoneri et dici ad eum: *qui habet aures audiendi, a u d i a t ?* canticum quoque canitur carissimo atque dilecto, quia propter illum ueniet sanctis promissa mutatio (p. 620).

ubi simplex est sensus et apertus, quid necesse erat audientem praemoneri verbo intelligentiae, et dici ad eum: *Qui habet aures audiendi, audiat?* Eruditionis quoque canticum canitur amantissimo et dilecto, canitur victori et pro triumpho; canitur autem pro floribus et liliis, canitur et pro his qui commutabuntur (col. 1010).

Ubicunque enim in Scripturis sacris intelligentia requiritur, non carnale aliquid aut terrenum, sed spiritale totum atque arcanum divinitus commendatur (col. 1002).

Pro quo interpretatus est Symmachus: *commotum est cor meum uerbo bono* indicans ad alterius sermonem cor dicentis motum et spiritu sancto futura Christi sacramenta pandente etiam hunc in eloquium prorupisse, ut, quemadmodum ceteri de aduentu eius locuti sunt, et iste loqueretur.

Verumtamen Symmachus longe aliter transtulit: *Commotum est,* inquit, *cor meum verbo bono,* quasi dicat de alterius sermone cor prophetae, vel cujuslibet dicentis, commotum; ita Spiritu sancto futura Christi pandente sacramenta, ipsum etiam in eloquium prorupisse, quatenus et ipse, quemadmodum caeteri prophetae, de adventu Christi loqueretur (col. 1020).

Ructus autem proprie dicitur digestio cibi et concoctarum escarum in uentum efflatio. quomodo ergo iuxta qualitatem ciborum de stomacho ructus erumpit et uel boni uel mali odoris flatus indicium est (p. 621 f.).

Est autem proprie ructus digestio cibi, et concoctarum escarum in auras efflatio. De cujus nimirum afflatu, juxta qualitatem escarum, aut collectionem stomachi, flatus boni malive odoris erumpit, qui ructus dicitur (col. 1020).

Quidam ex persona patris dictum intellegi uolunt, quod ex imis uitalibus et cordis arcanis uerbum suum, quod in se erat semper.

Eo quod ex intimis, vitalibusque cordis sui visceribus verbum suum, quod in se semper erat, se astruit eructasse (col. 1015).

Protulerit iuxta alterius psalmi uaticinium: *ex utero ante luciferum genui te*, et quomodo uterus non significat uterum—neque enim deus diuiditur in membra—, sed eandem substantiam patris filiique demonstrat, sic cor et uerbum, quod profertur ex corde, patrem ostendere et filium.

Idcirco amantissimus Filius Verbumque bonum de corde Patris, sponsae missus ad nuptias nuntiatur, ut idem amplius omni charitate in animo diligatur. Non quod Deus Pater corporeus credi debeat, ut cor, aut uterum, caeteraque habere membra intelligatur; sed ut per corporalium efficientiarum nomina, divinitatis ejus arcana concipiantur. Non enim membris corporalibus consistit Deus. Nam alibi generationem Filii cum vellet commemorare, ait: *Ex utero ante luciferum genui te* (col. 1014 f.).

Et quod sequitur: *dico ego opera mea regi,* illi coaptant intellegentiae: *ipse dixit et facta sunt, ipse mandauit et creata sunt,* quod dicente patre operatus sit filius; omnia, quae pater facit, eadem et filium facere similiter et patrem manentem in eo operari cuncta per filium. *Dico ego opera mea regi.* propheticus chorus Christi ecclesiae sacramenta dicturus, ne carmine uideatur indignus et ob conscientiam peccatorum dicatur ei: *ut quid tu enarras iustitias meas et adsumis testamentum meum per os tuum?* opera sua regi, quem laudaturus est, confitetur, ut uel, si bona sunt, ipse suscipiat uel, si mala sunt, mundet; facitque, quod iussus est: *dic tu iniquitates tuas, ut iustificeris,* et: *iustus accusator sui est in principio sermonis* (p. 622 f.).

Unde sequitur: *Dico ego opera mea regi.* Vox Patris continuatur qui praedicat de Filio, quod ei sua indicet opera, juxta illud quod ait: *Ipse dixit, et facta sunt, ipse mandavit et creata sunt* (col. 1021).

Hinc dictum est quod omnia quae Pater facit eadem et Filius similiter facit; nec potest Filius facere, nisi quod viderit Patrem facientem. Caeterum juxta Symmachum propheticus chorus Christi Ecclesiae sacramenta dicturus, ne carmine videatur indignus, loquitur. Cum quibus et vos sanctimoniales Christi, choros vicissim ducentes, pandite opera vestra regi Deo, sponso vestro, ne ob conscientiam peccati dicatur: *Quare tu enarras justitias meas, et assumis testamentum meum per os tuum?* Opera vestra regi Deo confitemini, ut vel si bona ipse suscipiat; vel si mala, misereatur et mundet; juxta illud: *Dic tu prius iniquitates tuas, ut justificeris, quia justus accusator est sui, in principio sermonis* (col. 1022).

Lingua mea calamus scribae uelociter scribentis. pro quo nos interpretati sumus: *lingua mea stilus scribae uelocis.* extrema pars prologi est; et cum praecedentibus iunge, quod sequitur: eructuauit cor meum in laudes dei sermonem bonum et opuscula mea, quibus eum praedicaturus sum, ipsi potissimum consecraui. debeo ergo et linguam meam quasi stilum et calamum praeparare, ut per illam in corde auribus audientium scribat spiritus sanctus; meum est enim quasi organum praebere linguam, illius quasi per organum sonare, quae sua sunt (p. 623 f.).

Lingua mea calamus scribae velociter scribentis. Pro quo Hieronymus interpretatus est, *Lingua mea stylus scribae velocis* (col. 1022).

Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum, et omnia mei actus opuscula tibi Domino consecravi; interea et lingua mea ac si calamus scribae velociter scribentis, non solum ut consodales doceam, quae Spiritus infuderit et personuerit quasi suo in organo (col. 1023).

Mea autem lingua in similitudinem scribae uelocis, quem notarium possumus intellegere, quodam signorum conpendio breuiatum euangelii strictumque sermonem exarabit in tabulis cordis carnalibus. si enim lex per manum mediatoris digito dei scripta est et, quod destructum est, glorificatum est, quanto magis euangelium, quod mansu-

Lingua mea stylus scribae velocis, notariorum velocitatem scribendi volens exprimere. Sed velocior lingua Patris, qua Spiritus sanctus designatur, cujus adventus doctrina est orbi terrarum. Per quem lex ac si digito Dei scripta est tabulis lapideis, per quem inspirati sancti Dei omnes futura dixerunt, et quae divina sunt ediderunt (col. 1022).

rum est, per meam linguam scribetur a spiritu sancto, ut illius laudes, ad quem in Isaia dicitur: *uelociter spolia detrahe, cito praedare*, uelox in corde credentium sermo describat!

Cujus nomen Isaias declarat futurum: *Velociter scribe, spolia detrahe, cito praedare.* Ideoque bene Spiritus sanctus calamus scribae velociter scribentis dicitur (col. 1023).

Speciosus forma prae filiis hominum. in Hebraico: *decore pulchrior es filiis hominum.* finito prohoemio hinc narrationis exordium est et fit apostropha ad ipsum amantissimum et dilectum et regem, cui dicentis opera consecrata sunt. quaeritur autem, quomodo pulchrior sit cunctis filiis hominum, de quo legimus in Isaia: *uidimus eum, et non habebat speciem neque decorem, sed erat species eius inhonorata et deficiens a filiis hominum; homo in plaga positus et sciens ferre infirmitatem, quia auertit faciem suam.* nec statim scriptura dissonare uideatur, quia ibi ignobilitas corporis propter flagella et sputa et alapas et clauos et iniurias patibuli commemoratur, hic pulchritudo uirtutum in sacro et uenerando corpore.

Verbum Patris de quo omnia retro dicta sunt, quasi finito prooemio, facit hic narrationis exordium, et facit apostrophen, ad ipsum amantissimum triumphatorem, cui omnia dicit opera sua, et consecuta sunt quaecunque de eo dicta sunt. De Chore, inquit, pulchriores filiis hominum. Sed rursus quaeritur quomodo pulchrior sit cunctis filiis hominum, quando legimus in Isaia: *Vidimus eum et non habebat speciem neque decorem, sed despectum virorum; species ejus inhonorata et deficiens a filiis hominum, homo in plaga positus, et sciens ferre infirmitatem*, seu caetera quae de illo eo in loco a diversis interpretibus interpretatur. Ubi si bene consideras, nulla Scripturarum dissonantia generatur, quoniam ibi corporis

non quo diuinitas C h r i s t i hominibus conparata formosior sit—haec enim non habet conparationem—, sed absque passionibus crucis uniuersis pulchrior est.

ignobilitas, non propter se, sed propter flagella, sputa, et alapas, propter clavos quoque et irrisiones atque injurias patibuli, et alia quamplura q u a e pertulit probra benignissimus Salvator propter nos, unde nec reputatus est inter homines. Hic vero pulchritudo virtutum et honestas vitae, morum probitas atque forma, non minus justitiae, quam et totius bonitatis in eo laudatur. Non quod divinitas Christi hominibus comparata formosior dicatur, quia sicut paulo ante praemisi, nulli est comparanda, sed quia in forma servi et habitu hominis absque opprobriis et injuriis et passionibus crucis, speciosior prae cunctis refulsit hominibus (col. 1016 f.).

Uirgo de uirgine, qui non ex uoluntate uiri, sed ex deo natus est.

Quia e t s i mirabile e s t quod virgo de virgine natus est, nec minus mirabilius est quod idem non *ex voluntate viri, sed ex* Deo natus est (col. 1017).

Nisi enim habuisset et in uultu quiddam oculisque si-

Qua de causa d i c i t u r e t i a m a sanctis patribus

dereum, numquam eum statim secuti fuissent apostoli nec, qui ad conprehendendum uenerant, corruissent.

quiddam habuisse in vultu et in oculis sidereum, quo divinitus permulceret pios, et terreret reprobos. Alias autem nequaquam eum statim secuti essent apostoli ad unius jussionem; nec qui ad comprehendendum eum venerant prostrati mox sola voce corruissent (col. 1017).

Denique et in praesenti testimonio, in quo ait: *homo in p l a g a positus et sciens ferre infirmitatem*, r e d d i t causas, quare ista perpessus sit: *quia a u e r t i t faciem suam*, id est paululum diuinitate subtracta corpus iniuriae dereliquit (p. 624 f.).

Denique et in supradicto testimonio ubi ait: *Homo in plaga positus et sciens ferre infirmitatem*, r e d d i t causam, quare ista perpessus sit. *Quia*, i n q u i t, *avertit faciem suam*, id est, paululum auxilio divinitatis remoto, corpus injuriae dereliquit (col. 1017).

Accingere gladio tuo super femor tuum, potentissime, specie tua et pulchritudine tuo. in Hebraeo: *accingere gladio tuo super femor, fortissime, gloria tua et decore tuo.* istum arbitror locum te optime intellegere et accinctam Christi gladio militare. ut autem scias semp e r uirginitatem gladium habere pudicitiae, per quem truncat opera carnis et su-

Ubi et sponsus a Patre accingi jubetur, non qualicunque gladio, sed sicut in Hebraeo habetur: *Accingere gladio tuo super femur, fortissime, gloria tua, et decore tuo* (col. 1027). Quem sane locum melius vos intelligere non ambigo, quae ab ineunte aetate Christi gladio viriliter succinctae, didicistis multarum solatio ac si in acie fortiter pugnare.

perat uoluptates, gentilis quoque error deas uirgines finxit armatas. accinxit et Petrus lumbos suos et ardentem lucernam habuit in manibus. quod autem femor significet opera nuptiarum, his breuiter exemplis doceberis. Abraham mittens ad uxorem quaerendum filio suo Isaac dicit maiori domus suae: *pone manum tuam sub femore meo et adiurabo te per dominum deum caeli,* non dubium, quin per eum, qui de eius erat semine nasciturus. Iacob, postquam luctatus est cum homine, qui ei apparuerat ad torrentem Iaboc, Mesopotamia derelicta et terram repromissionis ingrediens non ante Israhelis sortitus est nomen, quam neruus femoris eius emarcuit. et ad filium loquitur: *non deficiet princeps ex Iuda neque dux de femoribus eius.* et rursum ipse moriturus Ioseph adiurat in femore suo, ne eum in Aegypto sepeliat. in Iudicum quoque libro legimus: *Gedeonis erant filii septuaginta, qui egressi sunt de femoribus eius.* in Can-

Ut sciatis autem semper virginitatem esse debere armatam, ac si in acie; quid gentilitas variis delusa erroribus sibi finxerit, recolendum censeo, quia virgines suas armatas semperque accinctas gladio multis exposuere figmentis. Sed et Dominus succinctos jubet lumbos habere, et lucernas ferre in manibus. Et Salomon in Canticis *sexaginta* potentes describit, de *fortissimis Israel* in circuitu Chore, *omnes tenentes* gladium, doctissimos ad bellum, viros accinctos gladio *super femur suum.* Quod autem femur significet opera nuptiarum docet Abraham, qui jubet servum jurare in ejus femore, per Deum coeli, qui ex eo nasciturus erat: nec non et in eo, ubi princeps de femoribus Judae repromittitur. Sed et Jacob moriturus adjurat Joseph in femore suo, ne eum sepeliat in Aegypto (col. 1027).

tico dicitur canticorum: *ecce lectus Salomonis. sexaginta potentes in circuitu eius de potentibus Israhel, omnes tenentes g l a d i u m, docti bellum, uir et gladius super femor eius* (p. 627 f.).

Et intende, prospere procede et regna propter ueritatem et mansuetudinem et iustitiam, et deducet te mirabiliter dextera tua. in Hebraeo: *decore tuo prospere ascende propter ueritatem et mansuetudinem iustitiae, et docebit te terribilia dextera tua.* secundo scriptum est apud Hebraeos 'decore tuo,' ne quis id ipsum uitio librarii repetitum putet, et est figura, quae apud rhetores repetitio nominatur. more ergo panegyrici, quo laudatores loquuntur ad eos, quos praeconiis efferunt, armatum cohortatur ad proelium, ut semel arrepta bella non deserat et super hostium strages uictor incedens praeparet sibi regnum in his, quos de diaboli eripiens potestate suo copulauit imperio, et dicat: *ego autem constitutus sum rex ab eo super*

Hinc quoque sequitur vox Patris ad Filium: *Intende,* ait, *prospere procede, et regna.* Porro in Hebraeo habet rursus, decore tuo; ut sit sensus: decore tuo prospere ascende, et accingere gladio tuo, gloria, et decore tuo. Secundo vero decore tuo lecto, intende p r o s p e r e. Quod idcirco dixerim, ne quis putet in Hebraico vitium scriptoris esse. Sed est repetitio nominis tropice figurata, more panegyrico, quo genere laudatores rhetores et saeculares viri loquuntur, quando suis efferunt praeconiis quod laudare decreverunt. Sic itaque Deus Pater, volens instituere Filium suum humani generis, ad praelium armatum cum suo exercitu hortatur ad bellum procedere, ne semel arreptam deserat monomachiam. Imo super ho-

Sion, montem sanctum eius.

stium strages victor incedens, intendat q u a t e n u s praeparet s i b i regnum de his quos diaboli eripiens potestati suo copulaverit imperio, et dicat: *Ego autem constitutus sum rex ab eo super Sion montem sanctum suum* (col. 1029).

Nullique dubium ueritatem et modestiam et iusti t i a m Christum appellari, qui dicit: *ego sum uia et uita et ueritas* et: *discite a me, quia mitis sum et humilis corde,* et: *qui factus sum et humilis corde,* et: *qui factus est nobis a deo iustitia et redemptio et sanctitas.* haec autem uniuersa dicuntur in c o r p o r e, et exigantur in membris. uictoria domini seruorum triumphus e s t, magistri eruditio discipulorum profectus (p. 628 f.).

P r o p t e r veritatem, et mansuetudinem, et justitiam deducet te mirabiliter dextera tua. Quae n i m i r u m omnia sic praedicantur in capite, ut deinceps exigantur in corpore. Sed longe aliter in illo, quoniam ipse per se et in se veritas est Patris, non accidens, sed naturalis et justitia. Unde ipse ait: *E g o sum via, et veritas, et vita.* Et Apostolus: *Qui factus est nobis a Deo justitia, et redemptio, et sanctitas.* Nulli dubium qui etiam mansuetudo Christus esse monstretur, dum victoria ejus triumphus servorum ostenditur, et eruditio m a g i s t r i disciplorum profectus (col. 1030).

Cor sapientis in dextera et cor stulti in sinistra eius.

Cor sapientis in dextera ejus, et cor stulti in sinistra

Christus in dextris est, antichristus in sinistris. Hebraica interpretatio distat in uerbis, non distat in sensu.

ejus. Propterea semper electi ad dexteram transeunt; reprobi vero in sinistris versantur. Unde signanter juxta Hebraicam interpretationem *docebit te* habet *terribiliter dextera tua* (col. 1031).

Sagittae tuae acutae, potentissime, populi sub te cadent in corde inimicorum regis. in Hebraico absque 'potentissime' reliqua similiter. et hic uersiculus tibi potissimum aptus est, quae iaculo domini uulnerata cum sponsa in Cantico canis: *uulnerata caritatis ego.*

Sagittae tuae acutae, populi sub te cadent in corda inimicorum Regis. Puto in Hebraeo etiam et in Graeco, *Sagittae tuae potentissimae* habet. Quia omnino sagittae Domini nisi potentissimae forent, in subito non omnem mundum saevientem Christo prosternerent, neque corda omnium valide tenebrarent. Quarum jaculo sponsa in Canticis vulneratam se clamat: *Vulnerata,* inquit, *charitate ego sum* (col. 1031).

Nec mirum, si sponsus tuus habeat plures sagittas, de quibus in centesimo nono decimo psalmo dicitur: *sagittae potentis acutae cum carbonibus desolatoriis,* cum patris ipse sit iaculum et loquatur in Isaia: *posuit me quasi sagittam electam, in pharetra sua abscondit me.*

Nec igitur mirum quia sponsus vester suis vos intus vulneravit sagittis, *cum carbonibus desolatoriis.* Quae nimirum sagittae potentissimae dicuntur. Ex quibus utique sagittis confixi erant et vulnerati, qui dicebant: *Nonne cor nostrum ardens erat in nobis, dum loquere-*

his sagittis et Cleophas in itinere cum altero uulneratus aiebat: *nonne cor nostrum ardens erat in nobis, dum loqueretur in uia et aperiret nobis scripturas?* et in alio loco legimus: *sicut sagittae in manu potentis, ita filii excussorum.* his sagittis totus orbis uulneratus et captus est. Paulus sagitta domini fuit, qui, postquam ab Hierosolymis usque ad Illyricum missus arcu domini huc illucque uolitauit, ad Hispanias ire festinat, ut, uelox sagitta, sub pedibus domini sui orientem occidentemque prosternat. et quia plures sunt potentissimi regis inimici, qui uulnerati fuerant i g n i t i s diaboli sagittis et *quasi ceruus s p i c u l o percussus in iecore,* sagittae domini mittuntur ignitae cum carbonibus desolatoriis, ut, quidquid utii in corde inimicorum regis fuerat, excoquant et salutari igne ignem eiciant perditorem.

tur in via, et aperiret nobis Scripturas? Siquidem ipse de se per Isaiam loquitur dicens: *Posuit me quasi sagittam electam, in pharetra sua abscondit me.* Nec dubium quin Pater sub tegumento carnis, et ideo quasi sub umbra manus suae, protexit eum. Qua itaque sagitta quaecunque anima fuerit vulnerata, inflammatur amore castae dilectionis, et resolvitur omnis duritia infidelitatis. Excoquitur p r u r i g o vitiorum, expellitur flamma concupiscentiarum ardore charitatis. Ignis siquidem igne vincitur, ita ut fornax Babylonis septuplum ab immundis spiritibus succensa restinguatur. Quae nimirum sagittae in manu potentis, totum potenter vulneraverunt orbem, et p r o s t r a t u s jam jacet omnis mundus Deo. Hinc jam in cordibus inimicorum victor regit et dominatur: quia ex inimicis et irae filiis fecit sibi amicos, quos sua regit v i r t u t e, et gubernatione principatur piissima (col. 1031 f.).

Sedes tua, deus, in saeculum saeculi, uirga directionis uirga regni tui. dilexisti iustitiam et odisti iniquitatem, propterea u n x i t te, deus, deus tuus oleo laetitiae prae consortibus tuis. in Hebraico: *thronus tuus, deus, in saeculum et in aeternum, sceptrum aequitatis sceptrum regni tui. dilexisti iustitiam et odisti iniquitatem, propterea u n x i t te, deus, deus tuus oleo exultationis prae participibus tuis.*

Sedes, tua, Deus, in saeculum saeculi, virga directionis, virga regni tui. Pro quo in Graeco thronus legitur, et in Hebraico *sceptrum* pro *virga* h a b e t u r (col. 1032).

Duas personas, eius, qui unctus est, dei et, qui unxit, intellege (p. 629 f.). Quod sequitur: *u n x i t te, deus, deus tuus,* primum nomen dei uocatiuo casu intellegendum, sequens nominatiuo (p. 632).

Quod sequitur: *Propterea unxit te Deus, Deus tuus.* Primum Dei nomen vocativo casu intelligendum, sequens nominativo. Quia alius est Deus qui ungitur, alius ille a quo ungitur (col. 1032 f.).

In hoc loco ad regem, qui deus est, sermo dirigitur et dicitur ei, quod imperium eius—hoc e n i m intellego 'thronum' iuxta illud, quod scriptum est: *de fructu uentris tui ponam super thronum tuum*—finem non habeat. quod quidem et Mariae angelus nuntiauit: *da-*

In quo loco ad regem qui Deus est, sermo dirigitur, quem superius Pater sponsae, q u a m ducturus erat uxorem, suis commendavit praeconiis, ut amaretur amplius extulit laudibus. Tria ad regimen, quibus firmaretur thronus, edocuit. Deinde instruxit ad debellandos

bit ei dominus deus thronum Dauid, patris sui, et regnabit super domum Iacob in saecula et regni eius non erit finis (p. 631).

inimicos, et instituit ad revincendos adversarios. Quibus prostratis et subjectis sibi, thronus ei imperii offertur, et sceptrum dominantis, juxta illud quod scriptum est ad David: *De fructu ventris tui ponam super sedem meam.* Quod quidem et Mariae angelus nuntiavit: *Dabit ei Dominus Deus,* inquit, *thronum David patris sui, et regnabit super domum Jacob in aeternum, et regni ejus non erit finis* (col. 1032).

Sceptrum autem et uirgam insigne esse regnantis ipse propheta significat dicens: *sceptrum aequitatis sceptrum regni tui* (p. 632).

De quo, quia defecerat sceptrum de Juda, dicitur, *et sceptrum aequitatis, sceptrum regni tui.* Sceptrum namque regnantis est insigne et regentis ostensio (col. 1032).

Cui et deferatur imperium et qui propter dilectam iustitiam et exosam iniquitatem regnare dicatur et unctus esse oleo exultationis prae participibus suis, quasi praemium caritatis et odii in unctione sumpturus. docemur autem in utramque partem et amoris et odii esse in nobis semina, cum ipse,

Nunc ungitur prae consortibus suis, cum defertur ei thronus imperii, ob dilectam procul dubio justitiam, et exosam iniquitatem. Similiter unctus oleo justitiae in regnum dicitur. Quia non sufficit cuiquam justitiam diligere, nisi et iniquitatem perfecto oderit odio (col. 1032).

qui primitias massae nostrorum corporum l e u a u i t ad caelos, et iustitiam dilexerit et oderit iniquitatem. unde Dauid: *n o n n e odientes te, domine, oderam et super inimicos tuos tabescebam? perfecto odio oderam illos* (p. 632).

Murra et gutta et cassia a uestimentis tuis, a domibus eburneis, ex quibus delectauerunt te filiae regum in honore tuo. in Hebraico: *smyrna et stacte et cassia in cunctis uestimentis tuis de domibus eburneis, quibus laetificauerunt te filiae regum in honore tuo.* praefatio ipsa te docuit idcirco me hunc psalmum explanare uoluisse, quia ad uirginem scribens 'pro liliis et floribus' titulum repperi. itaque consequenter et istos uersiculos ad te referam, cui uolumen hoc scribitur. mortificasti membra tua super terram et cotidie Christo offerens m u r r a m Christi bonus odor es et propterea stacten, id est stillam uel guttam, exhibes domino. narrant et hi, qui aromatum nouere uirtutes, stactem flo-

Myrrha et gutta et casia a vestimentis tuis, a domibus eburneis, ex quibus delectaverunt te filiae regum in honore tuo. Ubi pro gutta, alii myrrham, alii stacten transtulerunt. Casia vero est ipsa quae alio nomine fistula nuncupatur. Quarum v o s, sanctimoniales Christi species ac virtutes plenius cognoscere non ambigo, quoniam ista sunt aromata virtutum, quae quotidie in sacrificium Domino Regi offertis, quae mortificastis membra vestra super terram: unde et bonus odor estis Deo et cunctis hominibus. Nostis quia in titulo pro floribus seu liliis scriptum reperi: et ideo ad vos ex hoc Psalmo scribere delegi. Unde consequens est, quia myrrham primam vos

rem esse murrae.

ipsas Deo in odorem suavitatis offertis, ut de his speciebus aliquid latius edisseram, in quibus opera impenditis indesinenter, ut sponso per o m n i a placeatis. Ferunt equidem, qui de aromatum v i r t u tibus descripserunt, stacten florem esse myrrhae (col. 1035).

Quod autem sequitur 'cassia,' ipsa est, quae ab aliis σύριγξ, id est fistula, nuncupatur, uocalis in laudes dei et omnes pituitas et reumata uoluptatum suo calore excoquens. ubi in nostris codicibus scriptum est 'gutta' uel 's t a c t e,' in Hebraico 'aloth' legitur. unde et Nicodemus centum libras murrae et aloes ad sepeliendum d o m i n u m praeparauit et sponsus loquitur ad sponsam: *m u r r a et aloe cum omnibus unguentis primis* et illa respondit: *manus meae stillauerunt murram, digiti mei murra pleni.*

Porro cassia seu fistula, omnes pituitas et rheumata voluptatum suo calore in vobis excoquit ad purum, omnesque prurigines vitiorum detergit. Nam quod in quibusdam codicibus scriptum est, *gutta* vel *stacten* in Hebraico habet, *Ahaloth*. Unde et Nicodemus centum libras myrrhae et aloes ad sepulturam D o m i n i praeparavit. Unde sponsus ad sponsam loquitur in Canticis de his: *Myrrha et Aloe cum omnibus unguentis primis.* Et illa respondit: *Manus meae stillaverunt myrrham, digiti mei pleni myrrha probatissima* (col. 1035).

Proice et tu mortis opera Christo in baptismate consepulta et huic mundo mortua

Unde, charissimae, projicite mortis opera, Christo in baptismate consepultae, et

et nihil aliud nisi de caelestibus cogitans loquere ad sponsum tuum: *manus meae stillauerunt murram, digiti mei murra pleni.*

sub velamine sponsalitatis d o t e Domino consecratae: quia estis huic mundo mortuae, nihil aliud quam de coelestibus cogitate. Loquimini ad sponsum vestrum singulae, loquimini omnes: *M a n u s meae stillaverunt myrrham, et digiti mei pleni myrrha probatissima* (col. 1036).

Legimus et unguentum sacerdotale, cuius et Dauid meminit: *sicut unguentum in c a p i t e, quod descendit in barbam, barbam A a r o n, quod descendit in oram uestimenti eius* (p. 633 f.).

Quod si vere perpenditis, et vos jam vestimentum estis Domini, in cujus ora vestimenti unguentum illud pervenit, quod a *capite in barbam Aaron descendit* (col. 1036).

Ex quibus laetificauerunt te filiae regum in honore tuo. rex regum et dominus dominantium sponsus tuus est. reges isti, qui sub tanto rege sunt reguli, patres tui sunt, qui te et euangelica genuere doctrina. horum tu filia honorificas in omnibus uestimentis et odoribus bonis et templo eburneo eum (p. 635 f.).

Vos estis filiae regum, quae laetificatis sponsum in decore vestro, in honore suo. Quandoquidem ipse sponsus vester est Dominus dominantium: et ideo multos sub se habet reges, quorum estis filiae. Eorum si quidem odoribus et doctrinis attractae, eorum utique unguentis delibutae, eorum floribus exornatae. Nam sub tanto rege plurimi sunt et subreguli, quorum estis filiae et ipsi patres, quoniam per Evan-

gelium Christi vos genuerunt, quorum estis doctrinis imbutae, documentis enutritae, ita ut et domus Dei et sponsae ac filiae sitis. Qua ex causa, charissimae, laetificastis sponsum in omnibus vestimentis vestris, quia vestimenta vestra virtutes sunt animorum, in cunctis bonorum operum odoribus, quatenus ei placeatis cui vos vovistis (col. 1038).

Pro eo, quod nos transtulimus 'domibus eburneis,' quia in Graeco scriptum est ἀπὸ βάρεων, quidam Latinorum ob uerbi ambiguitatem 'a grauibus' interpretati sunt, cum βάρις uerbum sit ἐπιχώριον Palaestinae et usque hodie domus ex omni parte conclusae et in modum aedificatae turrium ac moenium publicorum βάρις appellentur.

Sed a domibus, neque in Hebraico, neque in Graeco habetur, teste beato Hieronymo, quamvis ipse ita transtulerit. Quinimo in Graeco ἀπὸ βαρέων scriptum est, sicut et in Hebraeo. Nam domus in Graeco potius οἶκος dicitur, βαρύς vero *gravis*. Unde quosdam ἀπὸ βαρέων, *a gravibus* transtulisse legimus, ambiguitate verbi deceptos. Est autem βαρύς juxta Palaestinae provinciae proprietatem, genus domus ex omni parte conclusae, et in modum turris aedificatae, ac moenium publicorum, quae ebore interdum vestiebantur (col. 1037).

Adstitit regina a dextris tuis in uestitu deaurato; quod sequitur: *circumdata uarietate,* excepta editione uulgata nullus interpretum transtulit. in Hebraico: *stetit coniux in dextera tua in diademate a u r e o.* ubi nos 'coniugem' u e r t i m u s, ibi apud Hebraeos legitur 'segal,' pro quo Aquila σύγκοιτον, Symmachus et quinta editio παλλακήν, id est concubinam, Septuaginta et Theodotion et sexta, 'reginam' interpretati sunt.

Unde beatus Hieronymus juxta Hebraicam veritatem: *Astitit,* inquit, *conjux a dextris tuis.* Porro Septuaginta *astitit regina* dixerunt; Symmachus vero, et quinta editio, *Astitit concubina.* A quibus interpretibus monstratur quod in una eademque sponsa, sicut unus est sponsus, ita una Ecclesia, sed diversi meritorum ordines. Deinde ubi Septuaginta dixerunt: *In vestitu deaurato;* Hieronymus: *Stetit,* inquit, *conjux in dextera tua, in diademate a u r e o* (col. 1040).

Deinde, ubi ego posui: *in diademate a u r e o,* Symmachus transtulit: *in auro primo,* Aquila, quinta et sexta: *in t i n c t u r a* uel *in auro Ophir.*

Symmachus vero ait, *in auro puro,* Aquila et quinta editio, sicut reperimus: *In t i n c t u r a vel auro Ophir* (col. 1041).

Quae filiae regum sunt et in sponsi parantur amplexus, per murram et guttam et cassiam et d o m u s eburneas delectant eum, cuius thronus in saeculum saeculi est.

Quinimo filia regum sese s e m p e r Christi praeparat conjugio, et delectatur in amplexibus ejus. Currit ergo post odorem unguentorum e j u s, quorum odor fragrat et r e s p a r g i t orbem universum. A vestimentis igitur quibus indu-

tus est, interdum diligitur: a domibus eburneis foedere perpetuo, cujus thronus est in saeculum s a e c u l i (col. 1038).

Quae autem iam super petram Christum stabili radice fundata est catholica ecclesia, una columba, perfecta et proxima, stat a dextris et nihil in se sinistrum habet (p. 636 f.).

Ex quibus omnibus, ut dixi, liquet quod una Ecclesia catholica, una columba perfecta et proxima, quamvis stet in dexteris virtutis Dei, et n i h i l habeat sinistrum (col. 1041).

Exin persona patris inducitur loquentis (p. 638).

Ex hoc vero loco aiunt, quod vox Patris primum loquentis introducitur (col. 1043).

Nemo dubitat patrem nostrum, antequam adoptaremur a deo, fuisse diabolum, de quo saluator ait: *uos de diabolo patre nati estis.* cum ergo, ait, antiqui patris fueris oblita et talem te exhibueris depositis pristinis sordibus, ut super fratruelem dealbata conscendas et quam possit diligere filius meus, tunc concupiscet rex decorem tuum. et ne putes unum esse de turba, a quo amanda es, ipse est rex tuus et dominus tuus. quia uero in-

Quod autem diabolus pater sit infidelium, testatur Dominus ad Judaeos: *Vos,* inquit, *ex patre diabolo estis.* Unde, virgo fidelis, si antiqui patris oblita, talem te exhibueris, depositis vitiorum sordibus, ut super sponsum et fratruelem tuum dealbata conscendas, quam possit diligere Deus Dei Filius: tunc Deus Pater: *Concupiscet,* inquit, *rex decorem tuum.* Quem non putes unum esse de turba, vel de numero caeterorum regum

terdum, qui reges et domini sunt, sunt quidem potestate reges et domini, tamen eiusdem naturae, cuius sunt illi, in quos dominantur et regnant, indico tibi, quod et deus tuus sit et debeas adorare eum. septuaginta interpretes non dixerunt *adorabis eum,* sed *adorabunt eum,* ut sit sensus: iste, qui te amaturus est, qui tuam pulchritudinem dilecturus, deus est et adorandus ab hominibus (p. 638 f.).

a quo amanda es. Noveris quia ipse est Rex tuus, et Dominus Deus tuus. Nam caeteri reges, licet domini sint aut reges, quia potestate utuntur: tamen ejusdem conditionis vel naturae sunt cujus et illi super quos dominantur et regnant. Iste autem quia Deus est, idcirco praecipio tibi, adora eum. Nam sic habetur in Hebraica veritate, *Adora eum.* Porro Septuaginta non dixerunt: *adora eum,* sed *adorabunt eum,* ut sit sensus: Iste qui te amaturus est, qui tuum decorem tuamque pulchritudinem dilecturus, Deus et Dominus, est ab omnibus adorandus (col. 1044).

Filia Tyri, in muneribus uultum tuum deprecabuntur diuites plebis. in Hebraeo: *et, o filia fortissimi, in muneribus faciem tuam deprecabuntur diuites populi.* uerbum Hebraicum 'sor,' quod in Hiezechiele iuxta Septuaginta legimus, interpretari potest et 'Tyrus' et 'tribulatio' et 'fortissimus' siue 'fortissima' et 'silex,' id est lapis durissimus. unde in prae-

Filiae Tyri in muneribus vultum t u u m deprecabuntur, omnes divites plebis. Porro in Hebraico habet: *O filia fortissimi in muneribus, faciem tuam deprecabuntur divites populi.* Quia verbum Hebraicum *Sor* interpretari potest et *Tyrus,* et *tribulatio,* et *fortissimus* sive *fortissima.* U n d e in praesenti loco interpretum o r t a est dissonantia. Sed

senti loco error ortus est; Aquila enim et Septuaginta et Theodotion et q u i n t a editio 'Tyrum' interpretati sunt, sexta uerbum Hebraicum posuit 'sor,' Symmachus κραταιάν, id est 'fortissimam.' nos id ipsum ad deum retulimus, ut illa, cui supra dixerat: *audi, filia, et uide,* filia fortissimi nuncupetur aut certe ipsa fortissima sit.

Quia imitata est fortem patrem, cuius uultum in diuersis muneribus deprecabuntur diuites plebis, diuites in cunctis operibus bonis et scientia siue, qui diuites putantur in saeculo, sapientes huius mundi et philosophorum disciplinis eruditi uel—q u o d melius est—qui ante diuites fuerunt habentes eloquia dei et testamenta et prophetas, id est de populo Israel.

Hieronymus secutus Symmachum, *F i l i a fortissimi,* transtulit: ut illa cui supra dixerat: *Audi filia et vide,* filia fortissimi Patris intelligatur, aut certe ipsa fortissima sit (col. 1047).

In cujus vultum prospiciunt universi,. et deprecantur, ut Psalmus canit, etiam cum muneribus omnes divites plebis Galliarum, quia de rosis gaudent se vindemiasse lilia. Divites autem qui venerantur et deprecantur C h r i s t i Ecclesiam in cunctis operibus bonis, sunt religiosi viri seu divites, qui dicuntur sapientes saeculi, philosophorum disciplinis eruditi, quorum adjuta eloquiis multum in principio floruit, una cum signis et prodigiis. Sed et divites fuere, quibus primum credita sunt eloquia Dei, habentes notitiam Testamenti Dei, scientiam prophetarum et sacramentorum c o e l e stium (col. 1048 f.).

Ut enim ante saluatoris aduentum hi, qui de Tyro erant, hoc est de populo gentium, et proselyti esse cupiebant, deprecabantur divitem populum Israhel et per eos introducebantur in templum, sic post aduentum domini, quicumque ex Israhel credere uoluerint — diuites quondam familiaritate et protectione dei —, uenient ad filiam Tyri et offerentes uaria dona uirtutum et confessionis in Christum deprecabuntur eam, ut salutem, quam perdiderunt in Iudaea, inueniant in gentibus.

Inter quos primum compulsus Paulus et A p o l l o, necnon et quamplures alii, multa munera detulerunt, quibus ditata est Ecclesia ex gentibus, deprecantes tamen ut reciperentur ad fidem infra C h r i s t i Ecclesiam, quatenus s a l u t e m quam perdiderant in Synagoga Judaeorum, invenirent in fide gentium. Quia sicut Dominus testatur, *non invenit tantam fidem in Israel*, quantam in gentibus (col. 1049).

Omnis gloria eius filiae regis ab intus, in fimbriis aureis circumamicta uarietatibus. in Hebraeo: *omnis gloria filiae regis intrinsecus, fasceis aureis uestita est.* pro eo, quod in Septuaginta scriptum est ἔσωθεν et nos uel 'ab intus' uel 'intrinsecus' interpretati sumus, in quibusdam exemplaribus inuenitur 'e s e b o n,' quod 'cogitationes' sonat. ex quo ostenditur omnem gloriam ecclesiae, cui supra di-

Omnis gloria ejus filiae Regis ab intus, in fimbriis aureis circumamicta varietatibus. Ubi in Hebraico habet: *Omnis gloria filiae Regis intrinsecus, in fasciis aureis, vestita est in scutulatis.* Nam pro eo quod s c r i p t u m est, secundum Septuaginta in Graeco ἔσωθεν. Hieronymus *ab intus* transtulit, v e l *intrinsecus*, et legisse se dicit in quibusdam codicibus pro hoc verbo *Esebon,* quod *cogitatio-*

ctum est: *audi, filia, et uide* et: *o filia Tyri,* et nunc appellatur filia regis, esse intrinsecus et in cogitationibus, id est in interiori homine et in circumcisione non manu facta, sed spiritu, habente conscientia fiduciam apud deum et tota pulchritudine posita magis in sensuum nomine quam in flore uerborum.

nes sonat. Ex quo ostendit omnem gloriam Ecclesiae, cui supra dictum est: *Audi, filia, et vide,* et *O filia Tyri seu fortissimi,* quam nunc appellat filiam Regis, intrinsecus esse in cogitationibus, in interiore videlicet homine, et in circumcisione non manufacta. Vult in spiritu et conscientia habere fiduciam apud Deum, et totam pulchritudinem intrinsecus in mente positam, magis in tacita cogitatione cordis, quam in flore vel eloquentia verborum (col. 1049).

Quomodo autem in stamine, ex quo dependent fimbriae, subtemen intexitur et tota uestimenti uirtus in stamine est.

Nam fimbriae quarumlibet vestium de stamine semper dependent, in quo subtemen intexitur. Nam tota vestimenti virtus in stamine habetur, a quo fimbriarum pulchritudo descendit (col. 1050).

Ita in aureis sensibus scripturarum, in quibus uestis ecclesiae omnis intexitur, miscentur aliqua de natura, de moribus; et hoc ipsum significat uestis Aaron auro, purpura, cocco, bysso

Quibus induta diversitatibus Regina Regis filia, anima videlicet fide Christi vestita, necesse est amictu discolor, sicuti et Ecclesia catholica vestiatur. Haec namque est vestis illa significa-

hyacinthoque c o n t e x t a, q u a m fecerunt mulieres, quibus deus ad texendum dedit sapientiam.

ta, qua vestiebatur Aaron, quae auro, purpura, bysso, cocco et hyacintho contexta fuisse divinitatis praedicatur. Quam sane vestem mysticis ornaverunt sacramentis mulieres, quibus Deus ad texendum d e d i t sapientiam (col. 1051).

Et ut intellegere possimus omnem ornatum filiae regis intrinsecus, ipsa loquitur in Cantico: *introduxit me rex in cubiculum suum* (p. 639 f.).

Tanto puriores e s s e debent etiam intrinsecus, cum quibus versatur Deus. Alioquin sponsa Christi, quomodo dicat illud de Canticis: *Introduxit me Rex in cubiculum suum* (col. 1049).

Uariam habuit et Ioseph tunicam, quam ei texuit mater ecclesia. de his fimbriis saluatoris αἱμορροοῦσα unam tetigit et sanata est. quod autem in Hebraico scribitur: *fasceis aureis uestita est,* id i p s u m significat, quod supra: *omnis gloria filiae regis intrinsecus;* fasceis sensuum diuinorum interiora membra obuoluuntur ecclesiae et tota uteri tegitur ambitio. harum fasceārum non p o t e s t obliuisci sponsa secundum Hieremiam, quia mammas ligant et

Ipsa est etiam et tunica talaris, qua induebatur Joseph, quam ei contexuit mater Ecclesia. De hujusce fimbriis, unam tetigit mulier illa ex Evangelio, quae *sanguinis f l u m e n patiebatur.* Quod autem juxta Hebraicum: *Fasciis aureis vestita est in scutulatis,* licet aliis verbis, idipsum significare videtur quod dixerat: *Omnis gloria ejus filiae Regis ab intus.* Fasciis namque pectoralibus tota uteri tegitur ambitio, et componitur resolutio mammillarum:

pectus, in quo cogitationes sunt, protegunt.

deinde astringuntur viscera, ne venter latius intumescat. Sed fasciarum a l i a e sunt quibus virgines ornantur: aliae vero de quibus matronae, ut diximus, constringuntur. U n d e Hieremias propheta: *Nunquid,* ait, *virgo obliviscitur ornamenti sui, aut sponsa,* seu mulier, *fasciae pectoralis suae* (col. 1051).

Adducentur regi uirgines post eam, proximae eius adferentur (*tibi. adferentur*) *in laetitia et exultatione, adducentur in templum regis.* iuxta Septuaginta prior uersiculus adhuc de filiae canitur ornatu, sequens ad i p s u m sponsum regemque dirigitur. porro iuxta Hebraicum totum ad sponsam dicitur usque ad eum locum, ubi scriptum est: *pones eos principes in uniuersa terra,* et legitur: *in scutulatis ducetur ad regem, uirgines sequentur eam, amicae eius ducentur illuc. ducentur in laetitiis et exultatione, ingredientur thalamum regis.* multam esse distantiam animarum in Christo creden-

Adducentur Regi virgines post eam proximae ejus. Offerentur in laetitia et exsultatione, adducentur in templum Regis. Ubi juxta Septuaginta, p r i o r versiculus adhuc de filiae canitur ornatu, sequens ad ipsum R e g e m dirigitur. Secundum Hebraicum autem ex integro ad sponsam dicitur, usque ad eum locum ubi scriptum est: *Pones eos principes in universa terra.* Sed distinctio versuum nimiam saepe Scripturis, maxime tamen in psalmis et prophetis, facit ambiguitatem, et immutat sensus. Similiter et i m m u t a t i o personarum, quod in hoc Psalmo manifeste declaratur. Unde et hic

tium demonstrat Canticum canticorum (p. 642).

quod diximus, *in scutulatis*, h u i c versui applicatur, et principium facit. *In scutulatis ducentur ad Regem virgines, et sequentur eam amicae e j u s. Ducentur illuc, ducentur in laetitiis et exsultatione in templum Regis.* Ubi non t a m sensus quam distantia animarum in Christo credentium demonstratur (col. 1056).

Quae omnes cum laetitia et exultatione ducuntur in templum et in thalamum regis: in templum quasi sacerdotes dei, in thalamum quasi sponsae r e g i s et sponsi. hoc templum et Iohannes uidit in Apocalypsi et propheta desiderat: *unum petii a domino, h o c requiram, ut habitem in domo domini omnes dies uitae meae.* et iterum: *domine, dilexi decorem domus tuae et locum habitationis gloriae tuae* (p. 643).

Ut perveniant *cum exsultatione portantes manipulos suos* in templum Regis. Porro ad templum sic adducantur, ut sacerdotes sint; ad thalamum vero Regis, sicut sponsae et conjuges. Imo ex omnibus ut sponsa et conjux una sit virgo. Hoc quippe templum est quod Joannes vidit in Apocalypsi sua. Et Propheta dicit: *Unam petii a Domino hanc requiram, ut habitem in domo Domini, omnibus diebus vitae meae.* Et iterum: *Domine, dilexi decorem domus tuae, et locum habitationis g l o r i a e tuae* (col. 1052).

Ex patris persona nequaquam de filia, sed rursus ad

Ut puta pro patriarchis, prophetae et pro prophetis

filiam sermo intellegi potest et ex spiritus sancti et ex filiorum Core. si ergo ad sponsam s e r m o dirigitur, sponsa autem de nationibus congregata est, cui supra dicitur: *obliuiscere populum tuum et domum patris tui*, debemus sponsae patres nosse, ut consequenter nouerimus et filios. 'pro patribus tuis, de quibus in Hieremia locuta es: *quam falsa possederunt patres nostri idola!* et: *non est in eis, qui pluat*, pro Platone, pro ceteris diuersorum dogmatum et errorum magistris n a t i sunt t i b i filii, quos constituisti principes tuos et fecisti in populis praeceptores.' uel certe aliter: 'o ecclesia, filii tui, quos genuisti tibi, uertentur in patres tuos, cum de discipulis eos feceris magistros et in sacerdotali gradu omnium testimonio conlocaris.' sin autem patres ecclesiae intellegimus Abraham, Isaac et Iacob et reliquos patriarchas, filios, qui ei in patrum honore sunt nati, apostolos intellegamus, qui missi sunt a d o m i n o praedicare usque ad extre-

apostoli, sicque deinceps apostolicus ordo sequatur, ut sit unus omnium eorum filiorum Core intellectus in Ecclesia, a principio usque ad finem, quoniam in omnibus sic propagatur et Ecclesia. Caeterum si ad eam loquitur tantum cui dixerat, *Obliviscere populum tuum*, ex gentibus debemus patres nosse, quibus filii nati sunt, omnes idola colentes. De q u i b u s Hieremias locutus est, *Quam false possederunt patres nostri idola, at non est qui pluat in eis*, seu philosophos, Platonem scilicet et Aristotelem, n e c n o n et reliquos, q u o s enumerare longum est, diversorum dogmatum vel errorum magistros. Pro quibus omnibus nati sunt Ecclesiae de gentibus filiis, doctores scilicet et rectores, quae constituit principes vel magistros: ac si ipsi Ecclesiae dicatur, filii tui, quos genuisti tibi, vertentur in patres, cum ex discipulis feceris eos magistros. Hoc quippe fieri quotidie cernimus in Ecclesia quod et usque in finem saeculi, fiendum minime dubi-

mum terrae et baptizare credentes in nomine trinitatis. sed quaeritur, quomodo ecclesia de gentibus patres habere possit Abraham, Isaac et Iacob, cum ei supra dictum sit: *obliuiscere populum tuum et domum patris t u i.* legamus euangelium: *nolite dicere: patrem habemus Abraham; potens est deus de lapidibus istis*—hoc est: de duro corde gentilium—*suscitare filios Abrahae,* et in alio loco: *si filii essetis Abrahae, opera Abrahae faceretis.* et in Genesi ad ipsum Abraham loquitur deus: *in semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes.* sicut enim ille in praeputio ex fide iustificatus est, ita et nos iustificabimur in eadem fide, si habuerimus fidem et opera patris nostri Abraham (p. 644 f.).

Intellegens, quanta decoranda sit gloria et quibus tamus, ut successores apostolorum episcopi s i b i m e t succedentes p e r m a neant. Sin autem Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, patres intellexerimus, filios Ecclesiae, qui nati sunt ei in loco apostolos voluerimus intelligere, q u i missi sunt a Domino praedicare usque ad extremum terrae; mox quaerendum quomodo Ecclesia de gentibus patres habuerit patriarchas, cum ei supra dictum sit: *Obliviscere populum tuum, et domum patris tui.* Nisi quia, sicut legimus in Evangelio, *potens est Deus de lapidibus istis suscitare filios Abrahae,* id est de gentibus: q u o d et factum credimus. Quia illi si filii essent Abrahae, o p e r a Abrahae facerent. Unde illis abdicatis, *in semine* Abrahae *benedicentur omnes gentes.* Quoniam sicut ille in praeputio justificatus est in fide: ita et nos in ejus fide justificamur, ut simus filii ejus, cui haec fides reputata est ad justitiam (col. 1053 f.).

P r o omnibus beneficiis, cum s e intellexit sublima-

praemiis subleuanda, conuertit ad sponsum uoces suas et pollicetur recordaturam se semper nominis sponsi in omni generatione et generatione. quod promisit, uidemus expletum. ipsa Christiana nobis omnibus Christianorum nomen inposuit, nomen nouum, in quo benedicuntur o m n e s familiae gentium (p. 646).

tam, praemiis ditatam, convertit ad ipsum sponsum vocem suam, et pollicetur recordaturam nominis ejus in omni generatione et generatione, id est in cunctis generationibus saeculi: quod adhuc hodie completur, et completum videmus intantum, ut nomen Christi sibi imposuerit ipsa Ecclesia. Unde omnes Christiani a Christo sunt vocati, ob recordationem et confessionem nominis Christi, quod est nomen novum, in quo benedicentur omnes familiae g e n t i u m (col. 1054).

Paschasius addresses the nuns of the St. Mary Monastery at Soissons with the exposition of Psalm XLIV only because Jerome similarly addressed the chaste Principia. He says brazenly that *he* thinks it opportune to compare the nuns with lilies, as though Jerome had not said precisely that. Nor has he any compunction about saying that he had found so and so in the beginning of the Psalm, which Jerome translated so and so, although he is all the time quoting Jerome's own words. In spite of the most violent dislocations, transpositions and paddings, the latter no doubt from other sources, Paschasius' plagiarism is obvious. In an age of intellectual honesty he would not have been tolerated, but in the Carolingian age few men were original, and pious and impious frauds passed for cleverness, or, at least, for scholarly pedantry. The plagiarism of Paschasius, who was one of the best

men of his time, permits us to infer that the rascalities of Pseudo-Isidore and of the author of the Letter to the Goths were no uncommon occurrences. The chief duty of modern scholars, when dealing with Carolingian times, is cautiously to examine every bit of evidence and to proceed on the supposition that any given manuscript may have interpolations or may be a downright forgery.

THE SYRIO-LATIN TEXTS.

(*a*) The Text of Johannes Scottus.

The Gothic Bible is based on a rare Latin text which was in the hands of Johannes Scottus when he wrote his Commentary to St. John. Unfortunately but a few fragments of the latter have survived, so that deductions have to be generalized from ten verses, namely, VI. 5-14, which overlap in the two versions, and from fragments of twelve verses preserved in the Skeireins.[1]

I.

	Gothic.	Johannes Scottus.
29.	sai, sa ist wiþrus gudis, saei afnimiþ frawaurht þizos manasedais.	Ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccatum mundi.

III.

3.	amen amen, qiþa þus, niba saei gabairada iupaþro, ni mag gasaihvan þiudangardja gudis.	Amen, amen dico tibi, nisi quis natus fuerit denuo, non potest videre regnum Dei.
4.	hvaiwa mahts ist, manna alþeis wisands gabairan? ibai mag in wamba aiþeins seinaizos aftra galeiþan jah gabairaidau?	Quomodo potest homo nasci cum senex sit? Numquid potest in ventrem matris suae secundo introire et [re]nasci?

1 The Gothic quotations are from W. Streitberg, *Die gotische Bibel*, Heidelberg 1908, and the quotations from Johannes Scottus are from Migne, *Patrologia latina*, vol. CXXII.

5. amen amen, qiþa þus, niba saei gabairada us watin jah ahmin, ni mag inngaleiþan in þiudangardja gudis.	Amen, amen dico tibi, nisi quis natus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu, non potest introire in regnum Dei.
23. managa wesun jainar.	Multae erant illic.
24. ni nauhþanuh galagiþs was in karkarai Iohannes.	Non[dum] enim missus fuerat in carcerem Joannes.
25. þan warþ sokeins us siponjam Iohannes miþ Iudaium bi swiknein.	Facta est ergo quaestio ex discipulis Joannis cum Judaeis de purificatione.
26. rabbei, saei was miþ þus hindar Jaurdanau, þammei þu weitwodides, sai sa daupeiþ, jah allai gaggand du imma.	Rabbi, qui erat tecum trans Jordanem, cui tu testimonium perhibuisti, ecce hic baptizat, et omnes veniunt ad eum.
29. so nu faheþs meina usfullnoda.	Hoc ergo gaudium meum impletum est.
30. jains skal wahsjan, iþ ik minznan.	Illum oportet crescere, me autem minui.
31. sa iupaþro qimands ufaro allaim ist.	Qui desursum venit, super omnes est.
32. jah þatei gasahv jag-gahausida þata weitwodeiþ, jah þo weitwodida is ni ainshun nimiþ.	Et quod vidit et audivit, hoc testatur. Et testimonium ejus nemo accipit.

VI.

5. qaþuh þan du Filippau: hvaþro bugjan hlaibans, ei matjaina þai?	Dicit ad Philippum. Unde ememus panes ut manducent hi?

6. þatuh þan qaþ fraisands ina; iþ silba wissa þatei habaida taujan.

Hoc autem d i c e b a t tentans eum. I p s e enim sciebat, quid futurum erat facere.

7. andhof i m m a Filippus: twaim hundam s k a t t e hlaibos n i ganohai sind þaim, þei nimai hvarjizuh leitil.

Respondit e i Philippus: Ducentorum denariorum panes non sufficiunt his, ut unusquisque modicum quid accipiat.

8. qaþ ains þize siponje is, Andraias, broþar Paitraus Seimonaus.

Dicit ei unus discipulorum ejus Andreas, frater Simonis Petri.

9. ist magula ains her, saei habaiþ ·e· hlaibans barizeinans jah ·b· fiskans, akei þata hva ist du swa managaim?

Est puerulus unus hic, qui habet quinque panes hordeaceos, et duos pisciculos, sed haec quid sunt in tantos?

10. iþ Iesus qaþ: waurkeiþ þans mans anakumbjan. wasuh þan hawi manag ana þamma stada. þaruh anakumbidedun w a i r o s raþjon swaswe fimf þusundjos.

Dicit autem Jesus: Facite homines recumbere. Erat autem foenum multum in loco. Recubuerunt ergo viri numero q u a s i quinque millia.

11. namuh þan þans hlaibans Iesus jah awiliudonds gadailida þ a i m anakumbjandam; samaleiko jah þize fiske, swa filu swe wildedun.

Accepit autem panes Jesus, et gratias agens, distribuit r e c umbentibus, similiter et ex piscibus quantum volebant.

12. þanuh, biþe sadai waurþun, qaþ du siponjam seinaim: galisiþ þ o s aflifnandeins drauhsnos, þ e i waihtai ni fraqistnai.

Ut autem saturati sunt, dicit discipulis suis: Colligite, quae superaverunt, fragmenta, ne quid pereat.

13. þanuh galesun jah gafullidedun ·ib· tainjons gabruko us fimf h l a i b a m þ a i m barizeinam, þatei aflifnoda þaim natjandam.

Colligebant ergo, et impleverunt duodecim cophinos f r a g mentorum ex quinque panibus hordeaceis, qui superaverant manducantibus.

14. þaruh þai mans gasaihv a n d a n s þoei gatawida taikn Iesus, qeþun þatei sa ist bi sunjai praufetus sa qimanda in þo monaseþ.

Homines e r g o videntes, quod fecit signum Jesus, dicebant: Quia ipse est vere propheta, qui venit in mundum.

The text used by Scottus is not identical with the *Codex Brixianus,* but differs from it in very many points. The fragments of the Commentary which have come down to us have the following variant readings as compared with the *Codex Brixianus.*

I.

	Codex Brixianus.	Johannes Scottus.
4.	*vita est*	*vita erat*
5.	*eam non comprehenderunt*	*eum non comprehenderunt*
9.	*lumen verum quod*	*lux vera quae*
	in hunc mundum	*in mundum*
10.	*in hoc mundo*	*in mundo*

12. *qui credunt*	*credentibus*
14. *gratia et veritate*	*gratiae et veritatis*
15. *testimonium perhibet* *est de quo*	*testatur* *erat quem*
17. *gratia autem et veritas*	*gratia et veritas*
18. *narravit*	*enarravit*
21. *et respondit*	*respondit*
22. *quis ergo es tu*	*quis es*
23. *ego vox* *parate*	*ego sum vox* *dirigite*
24. *fuerant*	*fuerunt*
27. *venit*	*venturus est*
29. *qui tollit*	*ecce qui tollit*

III.

1. *erat autem homo*	*erat homo*
2. *venisti magister*	*magister venisti*
4. *dicit autem ei*	*dicit ad eum*
denuo nasci	*nasci*
sit senex	*senex sit*
iterum in utero m a t r i s suae introire	*in ventrem matris suae secundo introire*
5. *respondit Jesus et dixit*	*respondit Jesus*
7. *denuo nasci*	*nasci denuo*
8. *sed non scis* *aut quo*	*sed nescis* *et quo*
11. *testificamur*	*testamur*

12. *si dixero*	*si dicam*
13. *nemo*	*et nemo*
14. *ita exaltari*	*sic exaltari*
15. *qui credit habeat*	*credens non pereat sed habeat*
16. *dilexit deus*	*deus dilexit*
17. *in hunc mundum*	*in mundum*
18. *credit in eum*	*credit*
19. *in hunc mundum*	*in mundum*
20. *qui male agit et non arguantur*	*mala agens nec redarguantur*
21. *opera ejus*	*sua opera*
22. *cum eis demorabatur*	*demorabatur cum eis*
23. *Deserto Salim*	*Aenon Saleim*
25. *inter discipulos et Judaeos*	*ex discipulis cum Judaeis*
26. *Jordanen*	*Jordanem*
28. *quia non sum ego Christus*	*ego non sum Christus*
31. *de terra est qui autem*	*terra est qui*
32. *testificatur*	*testatur*
33. *qui enim accipit testimonium ejus*	*qui a c c i p i t ejus testimonium*
34. *ad mensuram*	*ex mensura*

36. *filio*	*in filio*
vitam	*vitam aeternam*

IV.

1. *Dominus*	*Jesus*
quod Jesus	*quia Jesus*
baptizat' plusquam	*baptizat quam*
2. *quamquam Jesus ipse non baptizaret*	*etsi Jesus ipse non baptizavit*
3. *relinquid*	*reliquit*
4. *autem eum transire*	*autem transire*
5. *venit autem*	*venit autem Jesus*
6. *sedebat*	*sedit*
puteum	*fontem*
erat hora	*hora erat*
7. *venit autem*	*venit*
de Samaria	*ex Samaria*
et dixit	*dicit*
8. *vero*	*enim*
9. *mulier illa*	*mulier*
cum sis Judaeus	*Judaeus cum sis*
bibere a me poscis	*a me bibere petis*
quae sum	*dum sim*
10. *tu forsitan petisses ab eo*	*tu petisses eum*
aquam vivam	*aquam*
11. *nec in quo aurias habes*	*neque hauritorium habes*
unde	*quomodo*
12. *puteum hunc*	*puteum*
bibit	*bibebat*
filii ejus et pecora ejus	*filii sui et pecora sua*

13. *biberit*	*bibit*
aqua ista	*aqua hac*
qui	*quicumque*
dedero	*dabo*
14. *quam ego dabo*	*quam dabo*
17. *dixit*	*dixit ei*
quoniam	*quia*
20. *adoraverunt*	*adorabant*
22. *ex Judaeis est*	*ex Judaeis*
23. *nam et*	*etenim*
qui adorant eum	*adorantes se*
24. *spiritus est deus*	*spiritus deus*
qui adorant eum	*adorantes se*
25. *scimus*	*scio*
venturus est	*venit*
cum ergo venerit	*cum venerit*
ille nobis adnuntiabit	*adnuntiabit nobis*
26. *tecum*	*tibi*
27. *dixit*	*dicebat*

VI.

6. *quid facturus esset*	*quid futurum erat facere*
7. *eis*	*his*
8. *ex discipulis*	*discipulorum*
9. *puer*	*puerulus*
pisces	*pisciculos*
inter tantos	*in tantos*

10. *dixit ergo*	*dicit autem*
discumbere	*recumbere*
in illo loco	*in loco*
discubuerunt	*recubuerunt*
11. *accepit ergo*	*accepit autem*
discumbentibus	*recumbentibus*
voluerunt	*volebant*
12. *cum autem*	*ut autem*
saturati essent	*saturati sunt*
dixit	*dicit*
ne quid pereat ex illis	*ne quid pereat*
13. *collegerunt*	*colligebant*
quae	*qui*
his qui manducaverant	*manducantibus*
14. *illi vero homines*	*homines ergo*
cum vidissent	*videntes*
signum quod fecerat Jesus	*quod fecit signum Jesus*
hic	*ipse*
in hunc mundum	*in mundum*

Here Johannes Scottus has the Vulgate readings where *Brixianus* differs in I. 4, I. 9(*lux vera*), 10, 15(*erat quem*), 18, 27, 29, III. 4(*nasci*), 5, 7, 11, 15(*non pereat*), 17, 19, 22, 23(*Aenon*), 25(*cum Judaeis*), 32, IV. 1(*Jesus, baptizat quam*), 3, 6(*fontem, hora erat*), 7(*venit, dicit*), 8, 9(*Judaeus cum sis*), 13(*bibit, aqua hac, dabo*), 17, VI. 10(*in loco*), 11(*volebant*), 12(*ut autem*), 14(*in mundum*). On the other hand, *Brixianus* has the Vulgate reading where Johannes Scottus differs in I. 9(*in hunc mundum*), 12, 15(*testimonium perhibet*), 23(*ego vox*), III. 1, 2, 4(*sit senex*), 8(*aut quo*), 12, 14, 20, 21, 31, 34, IV. 1(*quod Jesus*), 2, 4, 6(*sedebat*), 7(*de Samaria*), 9(*mulier illa,*

bibere a me poscis, quae sum), 10(*tu forsitan petisses ab eo, aquam vivam*), 11, 12(*bibit, filii ejus et pecora ejus*), 13(*qui*), 14, 20, 22, 23(*nam et, qui adorent eum*), 42(*spiritus est deus, qui adorant eum*), 25(*cum ergo, ille nobis adnuntiabit*), 26, 27, VI. 7, 8, 9, 10(*dixit ergo, discumbere, discumbuerunt*), 11(*accepit ergo, discumbentibus*), 12(*dixit*), 13(*collegerunt, quae, his qui manducaverant*), 14(*cum vidissent, hic*).

Thus out of 125 variant readings Johannes Scottus has 37 Vulgate readings, while *Brixianus* has 56 such readings, that is, while less than one third of the variant readings in Johannes Scottus are from the Vulgate, one half in the *Brixianus* are normalized according to the Vulgate. In the few verses which overlap in the Gothic Bible, *Brixianus* and Johannes Scottus, there are 10 readings in the Gothic Bible differing from both *Brixianus* and Johannes Scottus, 12 readings identical with Johannes Scottus, and 5 identical with *Brixianus*. Thus it appears again that the Gothic Bible is much nearer to the text used by Johannes Scottus than to *Brixianus*. The only inference possible from this is that the text used by Johannes Scottus in the ninth century is older than *Brixianus*, that is, that *Brixianus* is merely a Vulgate text corrected in the light of the Gothic-Frankish text of Johannes Scottus.

All the Latin manuscripts of the Gospels which are generally supposed to contain a Western text, as opposed to the Vulgate and the African texts, and which have been dated from the fourth to the sixth century, are based on the same Gothico-Frankish text and in reality originate from a Carolingian scriptorium of not earlier than the end of the eighth century, as shall be shown here.

(*b*). Codex Veronensis.

In his edition of the *Codex Veronensis*[2] Buchanan reiterates the universal belief that it was written about the year 425. In external appearance, such as the purple tint of the vellum and the silver and gold lettering, it resembles most the *Codex Brixianus*, which has been assumed to be of the sixth century. "The great costliness and extreme beauty of the writing materials," says Buchanan, "point to an age when complete copies of the Gospels were treasures of great rarity." One hardly knows what to make of this statement, since more than one author has dwelt on "the great costliness and extreme beauty of the writing materials" as a proof of a Carolingian origin of such gospels. The *Ada-MS.*[3] shows a more lavish use of gold lettering than the *Codex Veronensis*, and the Bibles of Theodulphus, the Visigoth, evoked admiration and transport in L. Delisle[4] by their magnificent gold and silver letters on purple vellum. Berger[5] devotes a whole chapter to the chrysographic school and concludes that the greater number of the chrysographic manuscripts do not go back further than the year 781, in all probability not even further than the year 796.

Buchanan quotes a Life of St. Zeno where it says that Pippin, Charlemagne's eldest son, presented the Bishop of Verona with a magnificent copy of the Gospel, studded with gems and pearls. He says that this cannot refer to the *Codex Veronensis*, because of the "lectionary note inserted about the year 600 in red uncials on Fol. 99

2 E. S. Buchanan, *The Four Gospels from the Codex Veronensis*, Oxford 1911, in *Old-Latin Biblical Texts*, No. VI.

3 K. Menzel, P. Corssen, *Die Trierer Ada-Handschrift*, Leipzig 1889.

4 *Les Bibles de Théodulfe*, in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, vol. XL, p. 8.

5 S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge*, Paris 1893, p. 259 ff.

verso: + II. ID. APRILIS. SCI. ZENONIS. EPĪ." As the twelfth of April was celebrated in honor of San Zenone before Charlemagne and long after Charlemagne, according to Buchanan's own statement, one cannot see how the entry in red ink proves anything. Red was the usual color for notes in the ninth century. Thus in the *Ada-MS.* the lectionary notes are all in red ink.[6] One cannot understand how Buchanan arrived at the year 600, for the first three uncial letters of APRILIS discernible in his reproduction are in no way different from ninth century uncials, and, to make matters worse, ID is written in capitals and not in uncials. Indeed, the text of the *Veronensis* itself contains initial capitals ADEHMQV. The chrysographic page of the *Ada-MS.* in reproduction[7] contains a capital D, and among the uncial initials of semiuncial pages we get capital AVG, etc. The very use of a + to indicate the beginning of lectionary readings is the usual one in ninth century MSS.[8] So far, then, Buchanan has not adduced a particle of palaeographic proof which discredits the assumption from the legend that the *Codex Veronensis* is the very book which a Frankish King presented to the church of Verona.

The orthographic variations which occur in the text are identical with those found in early mediaeval Spanish manuscripts. Such are the betacism, as in *benit, bideris, bis, fobeas,* the prosthetic *i* in words beginning with *sc, sp, st,* such as *isciret, iscribis, isperabamus, ispiritibus, ispumans,* the interchanges of *l* and *r,* as in *pelegre,* the insertion of parasitic *r* as in *fretrum,* the vacillation in the use of the aspirates, as in *habraham, hoccidere, ortum, ospes,* etc. The inflexional variations, such as in *retiam,*

6 "Nur einzelne Ueberschriften und Initialen im Text und Zahlen und Noten am Rande sind in roter Tinte geschrieben," *op. cit.*, p. 3.

7 *Ibid.*, plate 11.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 8 and plates.

marem, prodeest, etc., are also specifically Spanish. It will not do to adduce the inscriptional proof of the early appearance of all these forms, because their late appearance in Spanish and other documents vitiates the whole proof.

Verona, like most northern cities in Italy, had Visigothic residents in the eighth and ninth centuries. This may be concluded from the presence of a most ancient Mozarabic Breviary in the Chapter Library of Verona.[9] Maffei had long ago observed that the betacism was a peculiarity of Spanish books in Italy,[10] and in this Breviary we find *bicerit, solberit, benit, bentre, birginalis,* etc., as also the forms *isceleratis, istipite, ispata.* Here, too, we get the vacillation in regard to the aspirate, *oc* and *hoc, ostis, onor, ostiam, umani* and *humane.*

Buchanan comes to the following conclusion in regard to the *Codex Veronensis*: "The evidence for fixing the date of the work of *b** as not later than the first quarter of the fifth century is in general the unique characteristics of the MS. both in its copying and in its text, and in particular

(α) The non-suppression of old forms such as *talantum, iaiunium, moynses.*

(β) The ungrammatical cases after prepositions, the unfixedness of inflections, and the confusion of the Accusative and Ablative cases.

(γ) The pre-Vulgate readings of *b** in St. Luke corrected by b^b. A MS. domiciled in Italy with such readings could not be much later than the authoritative edition of

9 A. Spagnolo, *L'Orazionale Gotico-Mozarabico della Capitolare di Verona descritto da Scipione Maffei,* in *Rivista bibliografica italiana,* vol. IV, p. 433 ff.

10 "*B* pro *v* consonante in hoc MS. fere semper, ut in aliis ab Hispania profectis," *ibid.*, p. 436.

the Vulgate, which was put forth in the last decade of the fourth century.

(δ) The mixture of uncial with capital writing, the latter being of the shape found in third century inscriptions.

(ε) The great costliness and extreme beauty of the writing materials, pointing to an age when complete copies of the Gospels were treasures of great rarity. Of this rarity the inaccurate harmonization in *b* and the daring handling of St. Luke I. 34 are further evidence.

(ζ) The smallness of the capital letters, and the severe orthographical simplicity of the MS. as a whole.

(η) The agreement of *b* with authorities such as Tertullian and the Old-Syriac in readings lost in all other MSS.; and last, but not least, the common element of *b* and all other Latin texts, however divergent."

(α) *Talantum* is not an old form, but a recrudescence of the Greek form. It is only in Spain that it has maintained itself in *talante*. *Jajunium,* as an old form, is of no avail here, because it is recorded in Span. *ayunar* and OSpan. *yantar*. The intrusive *n* before *s* in *moynses* is a specific Spanish phenomenon. Thus this paragraph disappears as a proof of the text antiquity.

(β) This paragraph need not even be discussed, for any early Spanish text shows these peculiarities.

(γ) The thirteenth century *Codex Colbertinus* was taken by Sabatier as a representative Antiqua text. This only shows that the Codex *goes back* to a pre-Hieronymian text, not that it *was written* before Jerome. Spain preserved pre-Hieronymian texts at least as late as the tenth century. Observe the marginal notes to Kings in the *Codex Goticus Legionensis,* which belongs to the end of

the tenth century, but represents an extremely old text.[11] The tacit assumption that "a MS. domiciled in Italy" was written there is without any warrant. Berger[12] has shown that Italy possessed a very large number of early Spanish Bibles, and in the case of Verona, the presence of Goths there would explain also the presence of a Visigothic Bible. As a matter of fact, it is not necessary to assume even Goths at Verona to account for the Bible. I shall show later that the *Codex Veronensis* originated in a Carolingian scriptorium. From there it was brought by or to Rotaldus, who in 806 was made bishop of Verona, and whose see was in the Church of St. Zeno, just then rebuilt and richly endowed by Pippin. But it was just about this time that the *Ada-MS.* originated, hence the remarkable resemblance between the two chrysographic writings. But, while the first is based more exclusively on the Vulgate, the latter represents a mixed text, where the Vulgate original has been frequently changed in accordance with an older text. This at once indicates the influence of the Spanish school.

11 "In superioribus libris haud raro veteris latinae Bibliorum interpretationis ex graeco derivatae fragmenta protulimus, quae nobis suppeditavit codex gothic. legion., quaeque saepius ad veterem italam, aut potius ad aliquam ex multis eius recensionibus pertinere certis argumentis coniectabamus. Multo enim credibilius videbatur apud hispaniensem ecclesiam paullo ante X. seculum, veteris italae versionis exemplum aliquod, ex quo eadem fragmenta manaverint, superfuisse, quam latinos homines per eam aetatem ex graeco novam Bibliorum versionem derivare cogitasse, aut condere potuisse. Ad haec accedebant alia plura intrinseca argumenta ex stilo et orationis colore, ex peregrinis quibusdam locutionibus, ex singulari interpretandi methodo, ex variis ipsis lectionibus petita, quae non modo auctorem seculo VIII. recentiorem prorsus excludere, sed interpretem secundo seculo supparem omnino requirere videbantur," C. Vercellone, *Variae lectiones vulgatae latinae bibliorum editionis*, Romae 1864, vol. II, p. 179. See also S. Berger, *op. cit.*, p. 18 ff.

12 *Op. cit.*, p. 140.

(δ) We have already seen that the mixture of capitals and uncials is a peculiarity of Carolingian calligraphy. The most striking example of this kind may be found in the *Utrecht Psalter,* of the ninth century.

(ε & ζ) The insufficiency of these arguments has already been pointed out.

(η) This point will be discussed under *Codex Bezae.*

Except for the last argument, the incorrectness of which will appear later, not a single statement made by Buchanan bears out the contention that the *Codex Veronensis* is a text written in the beginning of the fifth century. Precisely the same arguments may be adduced to prove that it was written in Carolingian times. Hence the subject must be approached from a different angle. I shall at first show that the *Veronensis,* like all the other so-called Western texts, attempts to correct the Vulgate on the basis of older readings incorporated in the Gothic Bible. For this purpose I give below a list of readings in St. John in which the *Veronensis* represents precisely the Gothic lemmata, whereas *Brixianus* differs. Wherever one of them has the same reading as the Vulgate, a *V* is attached to it.

III.

Gothic	*Veronensis*	*Brixianus*
4. om. *denuo*	om. *denuo* (V)	*denuo nasci*
25. *us siponjam iohannes miþ iudaium*	*ex discipulis iohannis cum iudaeis* (V)	*inter discipulos Johannis et Judaeos*

VI.

7. *twaim hundam skatte*	*ducentis denariis*	*ducentorum denariorum* (V)
15. *kunnands*	*sciens*	*cum cognovisset* (V)

15. *ei tawidedeina*	*ut facerent*	*et facerent* (V)
22. *siponjam s e i - naim iesus i n þata skip*	*c u m discipulis suis Jesus in navem* (V)	*Jesus cum discipulis suis in navicula*
24. om. *confestim*	om. *confestim* (V)	*confestim*
24. *in kafarnaum*	*in Cafarnaum*	*Capharnaum* (V)
27. om. *autem*	om. *autem* (V)	*operamini autem*
32. *þana sunjeinan*	*illum verum*	omit
54. *þaruh qaþ*	*dixit autem*	om. *autem*
64. om. *enim*	om. *enim* (V)	*spiritus est enim*
64. *ahma ist jah libains ist*	*spiritus est et vita*	*spiritus s u n t et vita*

VII.

7. *weitwodja*	*testificor*	*testimonium perhibeo* (V)
8. om. *autem*	om. *autem* (V)	*vos autem*
12. *þo managein*	*populum*	*turbas* (V)
18. om. *enim*	om. *enim* (V)	*qui enim*
23. om. *ergo*	om. *ergo* (V)	*si ergo*
29. *ik kann*	*novi*	*scio* (V)
36. *im ik*	*sum ego* (V)	*ego sum*

VIII.

18. *weitwodja*	*testificor*	*testimonium perhibeo* (V)

26. *þata rodja*	*haec loquor* (V)	*et loquor*
29. *bilaiþ mis*	*reliquid me* (V)	*me reliquit*
44. *manamaurþrja was*	*homicida fuit*	*homicida facit*
59. *ei waurpeina ana ina*	*u t mitterent i n eum*	*ut e u m lapidarent*

IX.

14. *imma augona*	*illi oculos*	*oculos ejus* (V)
25. *þ a n u h andhof jains*	*dixit ergo ille*	*ille a u t e m respondit*
32. *gahausiþ was*	*auditum est*	*est auditum* (V)
33. *nih wesi sa*	*nisi esset hic* (V)	*nisi ergo hic esset*
35. *bigat ina qaþuh*	*invenit e u m et dixit*	*c u m invenisset eum dixit* (V)
37. om. *et*	om. *et*	*et dixit* (V)

X.

14. om. *oves*	om. *oves* (V)	*oves meas*
15. *kann*	*agnoscit*	*novit* (V)
15. *kann*	*agnosco* (V)	*novi*
18. *nam at a t t i n meinamma*	*accepi a Patre* (V)	*a Patre meo accepi*
21. *blindaim augona uslukan*	*caecorum oculos aperire* (V)	*oculos caecorum aperire*
29. *us handau*	*de manu* (V)	*de manibus*
31. *stainans þai iudaieis*	*lapides Judaei* (V)	*Judaei lapides*

33. *staɪnjam þuk*	*lapidamus te* (V)	*te lapidamus*
33. *manna wisands*	*homo cum sis* (V)	*cum sis homo*
35. om. *ergo*	om. *ergo* (V)	*si ergo*
38. *in imma*	*in eo*	*in eum*

XI.

6. *twans dagans*	*duos dies*	*duobus diebus* (V)
8. *afwairpan stainam iudaieis*	*lapidare Judaei*	*Judaei lapidare* (V)
40. *qaþ þus*	*dixi tibi* (V)	*tibi dixi*
45. *þatei gatawida*	*quae fecit* (V)	*quae fecit Jesus*

XII.

10. *ei jah lazaru*	*ut et Lazarum* (V)	*ut Lazarum*
11. *iudaiei*	*Judaeorum*	*ex Judaeis* (V)
14. *bigat*	*invenit* (V)	*inveniens*
18. om. *et*	om. *et*	*propterea et* (V)
19. *ni boteiþ waiht*	*non prodeestis quicquam*	*nihil proficimus* (V)
29. *qeþun*	*dixerunt*	*dicebat* (V)
35. *jah saei gaggiþ*	*et qui ambulat* (V)	*qui ambulat*
40. om. *non*	om. *non*	*non intellegant* (V)
46. *in þamma fairhvau*	*in hunc mundum*	*in mundum* (V)

XIII.

13. *wopeid mik*	*vocatis me* (V)	*me vocatis*
14. *usþwoh*	*lavi*	*ego lavi*
14. *þwahan fotuns*	*lavare pedes* (V)	*pedes lavare*
18. *ni bi allans*	*non de omnibus* (V)	*nonne omnibus*
28. *þize anakumbjandane*	*discumbentium* (V)	*de discumbentibus*
35. *qaþ*	*dixit*	*dicit* (V)

XIV.

1. *galaubeiþ du guda*	*credite in deum*	*creditis in deum* (V)
4. *kunnuþ*	*scitis* (V)	*nostis*
9. *gasahv mik*	*vidit me* (V)	*me vidit*
24. *ni frioþ mik*	*non diligit me* (V)	*me non diligit*

XV.

7. *bidjiþ jah wairþiþ izwis*	*petite et fiet vobis*	*petere fiet vobis*
8. *wairþaiþ*	*efficiamini* (V)	*possitis fieri*
16. *gawalida izwis*	*elegi vos* (V)	*vos elegi*

XVI.

2. *dreiband izwis*	*facient vos* (V)	*vos expellent*
3. om. *vobis*	om. *vobis*	*haec facient vobis* (V)

9. *galaubjand*	*credunt*	*crediderunt* (V)
24. *n i b e d u þ n i waihtais*	*n o n petiistis nihil*	*non petistis quicquam* (V)
30. om. *ergo*	om. *ergo* (V)	*nunc ergo*
30. *urrant*	*existi* (V)	*venisti*
33. om. *quia*	om. *quia* (V)	*quia ego vici*

XVII.

2. *gibai im*	*det eis* (V)	*det ei*
16. om. *et*	om. *et*	*sicut et* (V)
18. om. *tu*	om. *tu*	*sicut tu* (V)
19. *weiha m i k silban*	*sanctifico me ipsum* (V)	*me ipsum sanctifico*
20. om. *et*	om. *et*	*sed et* (V)
20. *þ a i r h waurda ize du mis*	*per sermonem eorum in me*	*in me per verbum illorum*
23. *jah kunnei*	*et cognoscat* (V)	*et ut cognoscat*

XVIII.

8. om. *eis*	om. *eis* (V)	*respondit eis*
9. *ni fraqistida ize ainummehun*	*non perdidi ex eis quemquam* (V)	*nullum perdidi ex ipsis*
15. *was kunþs*	*erat notus* (V)	*notus erat*
15. *in rohsn*	*in atrium* (V)	*in atrio*
21. *rodidedjau du im*	*locutus sum ipsis*	*illis sum locutus*

28. *fram kajafin in praitoriaun*	*a Caiphan in praetorium*	*ad Caipha in praetorio*
28. om. *ut*	om. *ut*	*sed ut* (V)
34. *þu þata qiþis*	*tu hoc dicis*	om. *tu* (V)
37. *du þamma qam in þamma fairhvau*	*ad hoc veni in hunc mundum*	*ideo veni in mundo*

XIX.

5. *þo paurpurodon wastja*	*purpureum vestimentum* (V)	*tunicam purpuream*
6. om. *eorum*	om. *eorum* (V)	*ministri eorum*
9. *in praitauria aftra*	*in praetorium iterum*	*iterum in praetorio*
11. *w e s i þus atgiban*	*esset tibi data*	*tibi data fuisset*
12. om. *et*	om. *et*	*et exinde* (V)

The table reveals the following facts: out of 96 lemmata, 33 in the *Brixianus* and 40 in the *Veronensis* agree with the Vulgate; 23 readings in the Gothic Bible agree with the *Veronensis,* but the *Brixianus* in these cases differs from the Vulgate. Kauffmann [13] gives 185 lemmata in the Gothic Bible which agree with *Brixianus,* of which 63 are also found in *Veronensis.* Thus *Veronensis* has 159 lemmata which agree with the Gothic Bible while *Brixianus* has 185. Hence *Veronensis* is not far behind it in its borrowing from a Latin text from which also the Gothic Bible borrowed, and *Brixianus* cannot be adduced alone as of Gothic origin. Indeed, if to the 185 lemmata in *Brixianus* we add the 56 lemmata in *Veronensis* which

[13] *L. c.*, vol. XXXII, p. 326 ff.

Brixianus does not have and which, at the same time, are not in the Vulgate, we get 241 lemmata in the original text from which *Brixianus* and *Veronensis* quoted eclectically.

(*c*). Codex Corbeiensis.

The *Codex Corbeiensis* [14] is based on the *Veronensis* or on the text which *Veronensis* copied. The reasons adduced by Buchanan for assuming as early a date as 375-425 for this MS. are not different from those given in the case of the *Veronensis*. One of these, "the exceeding rarity of punctuation," is of no avail, because the *Codex Bezae*, which is placed in the sixth century is not any better off in this respect and because many later texts are careless with regard to punctuation. Besides, the omission of the marks is here merely a mannerism. In spots there are entirely too many punctuation marks for any period of time, as in Matth. XIII. 37-39: "Ad iħs respondens ait qui seminat bonu⁻ semen filius hominis est · ager autem hic mundus · bonu⁻ uero semen · hi sunt fili regni · zizania autem filii sunt nequitiae · inimicus autem qui seminauit ea · diabolus est messis uero consummatio saeculi est · messores autem · angeli sunt." Instead of the period in *Veron.* we generally get a space or a new line in *Corb.* *Veron.* is very irregular in the use of the dot. We there have the usual abbreviations —*b.* and —*q.*, which are nearly always repeated in *Corb.*, but occasionally we get some ridiculous imitations. Short words such as *a, o, os* are in a few isolated cases written in *Veron.* as *.a., .o., .os.*, and only in these cases does *Corb.* do the same (Luke I. 63, VIII. 3, IX. 41). The obligation of *Corb.* to *Veron.*

[14] E. S. Buchanan, *The Four Gospels from the Codex Corbeiensis*, Oxford 1907, in *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, No. IV.

is best seen in Luke XII. 27, where *non la|borant neq.| neunt* of *Veron.* is rendered in *Corb.* by *non laborant non. ne|unt*, where the usual abbreviation *neq.* (only at the end of a line) is in the middle of the line turned into *non.* Similarly *.LXXX.* of Luke XVI. 7 is stupidly rendered by *·octoginta* in *Corb.* When we consider the very rare use of dots in *Corb.* and their restricted use in *Veron.*, the coincidence of their occurrence is a prima facie evidence of a common origin. As the punctuation marks in *Corb.* are used without rhyme or reason in a few spots and not at all in most places, their absence points to an ignorant late use, not to any early time.

The stupidity and carelessness of the scribe of *Corb.* is well illustrated in a number of cases where his eyes wandered from a word to another in the next line of *Veron.* However, it can be shown that the text which *Corb.* followed was not the uncial *Veron.*, but a minuscule copy or model of it, having about the same length of lines.

Corb. has in Math. XIII. 49

Sic erit in consumma
tione saecumatio
ne seculi exibunt,

which could have originated only from

Sic erit in consu⁻
matione saecu
li exibunt,

where at the end of the second line the eye ran back to the beginning of the same line.

Veron. has for Matth. XX. 28 *sicut filius ho|minis non ue|nit ministrari.* If we rewrite this in slightly longer lines as

sicut
filius hominis
non uenit minis
trari

we at once see how, by mistaking *minis* for *hominis,* Corb. gets

sicut
filius hominis trari.

In Matth. XXII. 16 *Veron.* has *uerax est,* for *uerax es,* and *Corb.* has *uerax est.*

In Matth. XXIV. 23, 24 we have a proof that *Veron.* and *Corb.* go back to a common source, where apparently the two verses were written badly at the margin and were read differently by the different scribes. The reading was something like this:

tunc si quis vobis dixe	*ecce hic xp̄s*
rit ecce hic xp̄s	*ecce illic* *nolite credere* *et surgent enim*
et pseudoprophetae	*pseudoxp̄i.*

That such approximately was the reading in the original source is proved by the punctuation in *Codex Bezae* and *Veron. Codex Bezae* has sometimes whole pages without a punctuation mark, but here we fortunately have the following:

etunc si quis dixerit vobis
ecce hic xp̄s aut illic. nolite credere
et surgent enim pseudoxp̄i
et pseudoprophetae.,

where *Veron.* reads *tunc si quis uo|bis dixeecce | hic xp̄s. ecce | illic nolite credere. | Surgent eni⁻ | pseudoxp̄i | et pseudoprophetae|*, that is, it is pretty certain that the lines must have ended as reconstructed, but, in order that *Veron.* should have made such a bad blunder, it is necessary for *ecce hic xp̄s* to be repeated towards the side. Now *Corb.* failed to take into consideration the whole of the second column and the result is

tunc si quis uobis dixe
rit ecce hic xps et pseu
doprophetae..

Codex Sangallensis[15] is a ninth century Greek New Testament with a Latin interlinear translation. It is identical with the text used by the Gothic Bible and coincides with Streitberg's reconstruction (for St. John),[16] except in the following unimportant readings:

	Codex Sangallensis	Streitberg
VI. 70.	omit	ὁ Ἰησοῦς
IX. 15.	omit καὶ	καὶ αὐτοῖς
31.	αμαρτωλων ο θεος	ὁ θεὸς ἁμαρτωλῶν
X. 12.	ο δε μισθωτος	ὁ μισθωτὸς δὲ
29.	ος δεδωκεν	ὃ δέδωκεν
39.	εζητουν ουν αυτον	omit οὖν
41.	σημειον εποιησεν	ἐποίησεν σημεῖον
41.	περι αυτου	περὶ τούτου
42.	εκει εισ αυτον	εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ
XI. 16.	omit αὐτοῦ	συμμαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ
25.	omit δὲ	εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῇ
29.	omit δὲ	ἐκείνη δὲ ὡς
41.	ο τεθνηκως κειμενος	omit
44.	τους ποδασ και τας χειρασ	τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας
XII. 32.	εκ τησ γησ	ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς
32.	παντασ εκλυσω	πάντα ἑλκύσω
47.	μη πιστευση	omit μὴ

15 H. C. M. Rettig, *Antiquissimus quatuor evangeliorum canonicorum Codex Sangallensis*, Turici 1836.

16 *Die gotische Bibel*, Heidelberg 1908.

XIII.	25.	επιπεσων ουν	ἐπιπεσὼν δὲ
	31.	omit οὖν	λέγει οὖν
	33.	omit χρόνον	μικρὸν χρόνον
	33.	υπαγω εγω	ἐγὼ ὑπάγω
XIV.	3.	omit ἐκεῖ	ἐκεῖ εἶτε
	22.	και τι	omit καὶ
	30.	ουκ εχει ουδεν	εὑρήσει οὐδέν
XV.	7.	omit δὲ	ἐὰν δὲ
	26.	omit δὲ	ὅταν δὲ
XVI.	4.	omit αὐτῶν	ὥρα αὐτῶν
	7.	λεγω υμιν	ὑμῖν λέγω
	19.	εγνω ουν	ἔγνω δὲ
	23.	δωσει υμιν εν τω ονοματι μου	ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου δώσει ὑμῖν
XVII.	8.	ελαβον και εγνωσαν	omit καὶ ἔγνωσαν
XVIII.	32.	του θεου	τοῦ κυρίου
	36.	η βασιλεια η εμη	ἡ ἐμὴ βασιλεία
	39.	απολυσω υμιν	ὑμῖν ἀπολύσω
	39.	υμιν απολυσω	ἵνα ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν
XIX.	5.	ο Ιησους εξω	ἔξω ὁ Ἰησοῦς
	7.	omit ἡμῶν	νόμον ἡμῶν
	11.	παραδουσ	παραδιδούς

It appears from *Corb.* that the marginal writing in the basic text was apparently bilingual and that the Latin was arranged, as in *Sang.*, in interlinear form. The same passage was read by *Sang.* and perpetuated by *Claramontanus*, as

tc̄	*si*	*quis*	*uꝺ*	*dixerit*	*ecce*	
τοτε	εαν	τισ	υμιν	ειπη	ιδου	

hic	*xps*	*aut*	*illic*	*ne*	*credite*	*surgent*
ωδε	ο xc	η	ωδε	μη	πιστευσητε	Εγερθησονται
-|-|-	*pseudopphete.*					
γαρ	ψευδοπροφηται					

As only the group here mentioned has the extraordinary readings, all of them obviously blunders arising from the fundamental source, it is clear that at least *Veron., Corb.,* and *Sang.* belong in some way together.

In John I. 13 *Corb.* has *ex sanguinib. neq.* As such words are not abbreviated within the line, the dot is due to *Veron. ex sanguinib.* | *neque.*

In John VI. 11 *Codex Bezae* and *Veron.* after *dedit discipulis* add from *Sang.* or its prototype *discipuli autem recumbentibus.* This apparently was written in or to one side and caused *Corb.* to obliterate even more, so that it has the absurd reading, *accepit ergo panes ihs et cum gratias egisset et distribuit piscibus quantum volebat.*

Corb. reads for John VI. 38 *ut faciam voluntate⁻ sed voluntatem eius,* where *Veron.* had similarly omitted *meam,* which is written in in smaller letters. This is a unique blunder due to a common source.

John VII. 19, 20 has a different blunder in *Veron.* and *Corb.,* arising apparently from a similar cause as in Matth. 23, 24. *Codex Bezae* and *Sang.* show that the lines must have run something like this:

19. *nonne moyses dedit vobis legem* *et nemo ex vobis facit*
quid me quaeritis occidere *legem*

20. *respondit turba et dixit*
daemonium habet 21. *Respondit eis ihs*
qui te quaerit occidere

Apparently verse 20, from *respondit* through *occidere,* was omitted in the copy and written in at the bottom. *Corb.* read the whole of the first column and passed over to verse

21, while *Veron.* omitted verse 20 entirely, but read both columns.

In John VII. 30 both again have a peculiar blunder:

Veron.	*Corb.*
misit in illum anu manus	*misit manu⁻ manum iniecit,*

where *Veron.* expunged the first *m anu,* while *Corb.* added *iniecit* to the second *manum,* and thus repeated the verse.

Corb. has in Luke VIII. 4 *cum ergo tur conuenisset,* due to *cum ergo tur|ba conuenisset* in *Veron.*, and in Luke IX. 44 *ponite uos in bus uestris sermones hos* of *Corb.* is due to *ponite sermones hos in auri|bus vestris* of *Veron.*

The blunders which arise in *Corb.* and *Veron.* are from a common source, and that the uncial *Veron.* does not lie at their base is proved by the fact that in John IV. 9, VI. 42, VII. 32, 39, 41, IX. 3, 21, 38, X. 22, XII. 44, XIV. 14, XVII. 14, XXI. 18, 25 there are omissions in *Veron.* as compared with *Corb.* *Corb.* is based on a Spanish text. This appears from a number of scriptural peculiarities. Final *m* and *n* in the line are represented by a ⁻, but also *n* followed by an *s*, as in *praedica⁻s* (Luke III. 3). Similarly *nt* is marked by ⁻, as in *era⁻* (John XIII. 1), *acceperu⁻* (XIX. 40), *descenderu⁻* (XXI. 9), but this may be due to the pronounced Spanish habit of dropping a final *t*, especially after *e*, *n*, and *s*, as in *uul* (Matth. XVI. 24, Luke XIII. 31, etc.), *pos* (Matth. XVII. 1, John XI. 7, Luke I. 24, etc.), *es* (John VIII. 44), *erun* (Luke III. 5). From the confusion of *nt* and *n*, and because final *n* and *m* are marked alike, there arises in the middle of the line the very common writing *sum* for *sunt* and *sunt* for *sum*, and similar errors. The source from which *Corb.* drew apparently wrote ⁼ instead of ⁻, as is the case in many manuscripts, and this was mistaken for a ᵀ, hence *dissitsio*

for *dissensio* (John X. 19), *mercetnarius* for *mercennarius* (John X. 12), etc. The writing *ts* for *ss* is apparently due to the Spanish habit of changing *ss* into *ns* and inserting an *n* before an *s*, as in *occansione* (Matth. XXII. 14), where the *n* written ˜ was read *t*, hence *adcessitset* for *adcessisset* (Luke IX. 42), *posetsio* for *possessio* (Luke XII. 16), etc.

That the source of *Corb.* was written in minuscule appears from the fact that the *n* which only in minuscule is marked within the verse by a line, is in a very large number of cases left without the *n* sound or occasionally has an *n* marked above the line. Almost any page will show this. We get *manducas* (Matth. XI. 19), *ascendes* (Matth. XXI. 17), *respondes* for *respondens* (Matth. XV. 13), etc.

Another pronounced Spanish peculiarity is the frequent betacism, as in *benit* (Matth. XII. 42), *creberit* (Matth. XIII. 32), *salbi* (Matth. XIII. 36), etc. There is at least one case of this betacism which has caused a uniform blunder in nearly all the texts under discussion, proving the identity of their origin. John VIII. 12 has correctly in *Sang.*

qui	*sequitur*	*me*	*non*	*ambulabit*	*in*
ο	ακολουθων	εμοι	ου μη	περιπατησει	εν τη
tenebris	*sed habebit*		*lumen*	*uitae*	
σκοτια	αλλεξει		το φως	της ζωης	

Through the betacism of the original source *Veron.* has it *qui me sequitur non ambulauit in tenebris sed habebit lumen uitae,* which, with slight variations, is also the reading of *Corb., Bez.* and *Brix.,* while *Verc.* (*Codex Vercellensis*) has been misled into writing *ambulauit in tenebris sed habebat lucem uitae,* and *San Germanensis* has changed it to *ambulabat in tenebris,* etc.

The Romance forms are presumably all Spanish, because they are represented in eighth and ninth century

Spanish documents. *R* is frequently misplaced, as in *hyprocite* (Matth. XXII. 12, 23, 25, 27, Luke XII. 15), *petrorium* for *praetorium* (John XVIII. 33), *lythostrotrus* (John XIX. 13), *grabiel* for *Gabriel* (Luke I. 19, 26), *tronitrum* (John XII. 29). The latter word is especially interesting, since the misplaced *r* is found in Span. *trueño.*

The forms *blastemabant* (Luke XXVI. 39) and *batizas* (John I. 24) explain Span. *blasmar* and *bautizar.* We also find peculiarly Spanish forms such as *iscindamus* (Luke XIX. 24), *ispiritubus* (Luke VIII. 2), *gubitis* (John XXI. 8), *superunsit* (John 1X. 6), *clodos* (Matth. XV. 31), *noue* (Matth. XVIII. 12), *dece* (Matth. XVIII. 24), *septe* (Matth. XV. 37), *duodeci* (Matth. XXVII. 53), *prodeest* (Matth. XVI. 26), *prodeerit* (Matth. XV. 5), *pelegrinorum* (Matth. XXVI. 7), *pelegre* (Matth. XXI. 33, XXV. 14), *pelegrinatibus* for *praegnantibus* (Matth. XXIII. 19), *nauitate* for *natiuitate* (Luke I. 14). The latter is not a mere mistake, for it is repeated in the Prologue to Luke and explains Span. *nauidad.*

The Gospel of St. Luke is in *Corb.* preceded by a life of Luke which lies at the foundation of *In argumentum secundum Lucam* by Sedulius Scottus.[17] As we have no such Gospel Lives before the VIII.c., and not a single *Catena*[18] has any reference to this Life, it is quite certain that Sedulius Scottus and *Corb.* received it from a common source, most likely a Spanish source, and, therefore, *Corb.* is not very far removed in time from Sedulius Scottus, that is, it is a Carolingian revision based on a Spanish Greek text. *Corb.* shares many lemmata with *Veron.*, but there are even more variants than resemblances. Indeed, all the texts under discussion diverge so much that they have puzzled investigators, and a common origin has not been suspected. The trouble is that the technique of Carolin-

[17] A. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, Romae 1837, vol. IX, p. 177 ff.

[18] A. Mai, *Classicorum auctorum*, Romae 1838, vol. X, *Introduction.*

gian Bible texts, as it can be ascertained from a few specific instances, demanded a constant change of lemmata, because the interpreters desired to produce better Latin translations, in conformity with the Greek originals which were then obtainable in France.

Carolingian scholarship adhered closely to Jerome's dicta. For the Old Testament there should be a return to the "Hebraica veritas;" for the Gospels, the Greek original was decisive. We have already seen how Johannes Scottus constantly preferred the Greek readings. The same may be observed in the writings of Paschasius, in fact, in the case of any Carolingian scholar. We have, fortunately, for the Psalter, the critical apparatus of Florus, [19] of about the middle of the ninth century, and, for the Gospels, the actual procedure in the *Codex Sangallensis,* apparently of the school of Sedulius Scottus, of the same time.

Florus complies with the request of Abbot Hyldrad to correct the Psalter according to the critical method (*iuxta regulam veritatis*). He speaks of the great variety of codices current, quotes the trite statement about the blunders of sleepy scribes (*dormitantium librariorum vitio*), refers to the asterisks and obeli, claims to have himself inspected the Hebrew original, and asserts that he follows Jerome's Letter to Sunnia and Fretela, the Goths, who have confuted the many errors of the codices. The purpose of his exposition is to justify double readings, which have arisen through the authority of the Septuagint or through the custom of the ages. It is clear that the expression *regula veritatis* used above was a technical term of the revisionist, for Florus uses *regula artis* twice in this sense. [20]

19 *Epistula Flori ad Hyldradem abbatem, De Psalterii emendatione,* in A. Mai, *Script. vet. nov. collect.,* Romae 1828, vol. III, p. 252 ff.

20 "In LXXXIIII. Benedixisti, Domine, terram tuam; in aliis terrae tuae; et sic *secundum artis regulam* rectius dicitur. Sed et hebrai-

A passage in the *Codex Sangallensis* illustrates the procedure of this school of criticism, for in a large number of cases it gives alternative translations. In John XVII. 23 τετελειωμενοι has over it *consummati* t *perfecti*, and a third word which I cannot make out. Some of the texts have here *consummati*, others *perfecti*, but *Bezae* has *perfecti consummati*, which shows that it derived its text from interlinear glosses. John XVIII. 3 has over λαμπαδων *lampadibus* t *facibus*, but only *Verc.* has the first. John XXV. 23 has over εξηλθεν *uenit* t *exiit*, but none of the texts examined has *uenit*. Occasionally a Greek clause is left untranslated, because the translator could find no Latin text containing it. Thus John XI. 41 reads ου ην ο τεθνηκως κειμενος Ο δε ις̄ ηρεν, but ο τεθνηκως κειμενος has no Latin gloss over it, while over ου ην there is *ñ erat*, the glossator reading οὐ for οὗ. That just such a text was used by the Gothic Bible and by *Brix.* is shown by Goth. *þarei was* and *ubi fuerat* in *Brix.* As this reading is also in one Syriac text and in some minuscule Greek texts, it must be a minuscule Syrio-Greek text that is responsible for all of these texts. In Matth. XXVI. 67 οι δε εραπισαν is left untranslated. The Gothic Bible and *Brix.* have a translation for it, but *Veron.*, *Verc.* and *Corb.* do not have it. As these are the only ones that omit the reading among all known texts, they might have fallen back upon a text of the *Sang.* gloss type. Mark V. 4 leaves επ αυτου untranslated, and this is wanting in *Brix.*, showing again that *Brix.* in many places is based on a text of the *Sang.* gloss type. The examples may be multiplied to show the influence of a minuscule bilingual text upon all the Syrio-Latin texts. It is clear that *Sang.* comes nearer to the prototype than any we have examined.

cum consonat: placatus es, Domine, terrae tuae.... In CXVIII.... laetabor ego super eloquia tua; in aliis super eloquio tuo; sic et in hebraeo et sic *secundum artis regulam* rectius dicitur.

At the same time a comparison of all the Gospel MSS. shows that great latitude was exercised in the revisions, and texts otherwise diverging greatly from one another may be closely related. Even so our *Codex Corbeiensis*, which belongs to this group, is, on account of the scriptural peculiarities, more closely related to the *Codex Veronensis*.

(*d*). Codex Vercellensis and Codex Monacensis.

In the Introduction to his edition of *Codex Vercellensis* [21] Gasquet says that a tradition in the eighth century assigned this uncial MS. to Eusebius of Vercelli, who died in 371. This myth may be dismissed at once, because the language does not materially differ from that of the codices already discussed, and because of the large number of Vulgate readings which could not well have existed before 371. Then Gasquet mentions the number LXXIIII which stands opposite Matth. XXVII. 66, and which, he says, represents an old division. Gasquet also says that the same figure is found in *Corb.* and in such texts as *Claramontanus*, that is, in texts under discussion, hence of doubtful antiquity. Liturgical notes in the margin of the Codex are said by him to be of a North-Italian hand of the 7th century. As there are no palaeographic reproductions of these notes, it is hard to verify the fact. But there hardly exists a criterion for differentiating a Lombard 7th century hand from one of the 8th century, and if the latter date be taken, the text itself need not be older. All that is positively known of this Codex is that at the end of the ninth century it was bound in a costly cover. To determine the age of the MS. we must proceed independently of the extremely doubtful palaeography.

21 A. Gasquet, *Codex Vercellensis*, Romae 1914, in *Collectanea biblica latina cura et studio monachorum ord. S. Benedicti*, vol. III.

The text has the following readings in St. John which agree with the Gothic lemmata and differ from the *Brixianus* readings:

V.

Gothic	*Vercellensis*	*Brixianus*
38. *wisando in izwis*	*manentem in vobis*	*in vobis manentem*

VI.

3. *usiddja*	*abiit*	*ascendit*
5. *þaruh ushof augona*	*elevavit ergo oculos*	*elevatis autem oculis*
5. *jah gaumida*	*et vidit*	*videns*
12. *þei waihtai ni fraqistnai*	*ne quid pereat*	*ne quid pereat ex illis*
14. *gasaihvandans*	*videntes*	*cum vidissent* (V)
15. *et tawidedeina*	*ut facerent*	*et facerent* (V)
17. *usstigun*	*ascenderunt*	*ascendentes*
17. *iddjedunuh*	*et ibant*	*venerunt* (V)
27. om. *autem*	om. *autem* (V)	*operamini autem*
29. *insandida jains*	*misit ille* (V)	*ille misit*
30. *taujis þu taikne*	*facis tu signum*	*tu signum facis*
32. *þana sunjeinan*	*illum verum*	omit
34. *þana hlaif*	*hunc panem*	*panem hunc* (V)
38. om. *ideo*	om. *ideo* (V)	*quoniam ideo*
40. *ina ik*	*illum ego*	*ego eum*
52. *leik mein*	*corpus meum*	*caro mea* (V)
53. *leik giban*	*corpus suum dare*	*dare carnem suam*
54. *leik*	*corpus*	*carnem* (V)
64. om. *enim*	om. *enim* (V)	*spiritus est enim*
65. om. *in eum*	om. *in eum* (V)	*non credentes in eum*
72. *iudan seimonis*	*iudam simonem*	*de Juda Simonis*

VII.

	iskariotu	*scarioth*	*Scariotis*
1.	*in iudaia*	*in iudea*	*in Judaeam* (V)
2.	*nehva*	*prope*	*in proximo* (V)
6.	*qaþ*	*dixit*	*dicit* (V)
8.	om. *autem*	om. *autem* (V)	*vos autem*
12.	om. *enim*	om. *enim*	*quidam enim* (V)
12.	*þo managein*	*populum*	*turbas* (V)
18.	om. *enim*	om. *enim* (V)	*qui enim*
23.	*hailana gatawida*	*sanum feci* (V)	*salvum feci*
29.	*kann*	*novi*	*scio* (V)
32.	*andbahtans þai fareisaieis jah þ a i auhumistans gudjans*	*ministros pharisaei et principes sacerdotum*	*principes sacerdotum et Pharisaei ministros*
44.	*ni ainshun uslagida a n a ina handuns*	*nemo misit in illum manus*	*n e m o tamen in e u m manus injecit*
49.	*so managei*	*haec turba*	*turba haec* (V)
50.	om. *autem*	om. *autem*	*dixit autem*

VIII.

13.	*weitwodeis*	*testificaris*	*testimonium perhibes* (V)
26.	*þata rodja*	*haec loquor* (V)	*et loquor*
27.	*attan*	*patrem* (V)	*de Patre*
28.	*tauja ni waiht*	*facio nihil* (V)	*nihil facio*
44.	*manamaurþrja was*	*homicida e r a t* (V)	*homicida facit*
45.	om. *vobis*	om. *vobis*	*locutus sum vobis*
46.	*izwara*	*ex vestrum*	*ex vobis* (V)
46.	om. *vos*	om. *vos* (V)	*vos non creditis*
53.	om. *qui*	om. *qui* (V)	*qui mortui sunt*
55.	*ni kunnuþ*	*non agnovis*	*nescitis*

59. *waurpeina a n a ina*	*iactarent i n i l- lum*	*eum lapidarent*

IX.

4. om. *autem*	om. *autem* (V)	*veniet autem nox*
6. *qiþands*	*dicens*	*cum dixisset* (V)
7. om. *ergo*	om. *ergo*	*abiit ergo* (V)
13. *þana saei was*	*eum qui fuerat*	*qui fuerat*
19. om. *ergo*	om. *ergo* (V)	*quomodo ergo* (V)
31. *g u þ frawaurh- taim*	*deus peccatores*	*peccatores deus* (V)
33. om. *ergo*	om. *ergo* (V)	*nisi ergo*
35. om. *autem*	om. *autem* (V)	*audivit autem*
35. *bigat*	*invenit*	*cum invenisset* (V)
37. om. *et*	om. *et*	*et dixit* (V)
38. omit	omit	*procidens* (V)
39. om. *ei*	om. *ei* (V)	*dixit ei*
41. *e i þ a n fra- waurhts*	*peccatum ergo*	om. *ergo*

X.

10. *iþ ik*	*ego autem*	om. *autem* (V)
12. *þo lamba*	*illas oves*	om. *illas* (V)
15. om. *meis*	om. *meis*	*ovibus meis* (V)
18. *nam at a t t i n meinamma*	*accepi a patre*	*a patre meo accepi*
21. *blindaim augo- na*	*caecorum oculos* (V)	*oculos caecorum*
25. *qaþ izwis*	*dixi vobis*	*loquor vobis* (V)
29. *us handau*	*de manu* (V)	*de manibus*
31. *stainans þai iu- daieis*	*lapides iudaei* (V)	*Judaei lapides*
34. *ist gameliþ*	*est scriptum*	*scribtum est* (V)

35. om. *ergo*	om. *ergo* (V)	*si ergo*
41. *qaþ iohannes*	*dixit johannes* (V)	*Johannes dixit*

XI.

2. *wasuh þan marja*	*erat autem maria*	*Maria autem erat* (V)
3. *þos swistrjus*	*hae sorores*	om. *hae* (V)
17. *juþan fidwor dagans*	*jam quadriduum*	*quatuor dies jam* (V)
21. *ni þau gadauþnodedi broþar meins*	*non esset mortuus frater meus*	*frater meus non esset mortuus*
28. *þata qiþandei*	*haec dicens*	*cum haec dixisset* (V)
43. *þata qiþands*	*haec dicens*	*cum haec dixisset*
44. om. *statim*	om. *statim*	*exiit statim*
44. *qaþ*	*dixit* (V)	*dicit*

XII.

9. om. *tantum*	om. *tantum*	*non tantum propter*
12. om. *autem*	om. *autem*	*sequenti autem die*
14. *bigat*	*invenit* (V)	*inveniens*
19. *boteiþ*	*proficitis*	*proficimus* (V)
21. om. *ergo*	om. *ergo*	*hi ergo* (V)
24. *gaswiltiþ*	*moriatur*	*mortuum fuerit* (V)
25. *gaswiltiþ*	*moriatur*	*mortuum fuerit* (V)
27. *þizai hveilai*	*hanc horam*	*horam hanc* (V)
42. *jah us þaim reikam*	*et ex principibus* (V)	om. *et.*

XIII.

13. *l a i s a r eis jah frauja*	*magister et domine* (V)	*magistrum et dominum*
14. *þwahan fotuns*	*labare pedes* (V)	*pedes lavare*
18. *ni bi allans*	*non de omnibus* (V)	*nonne omnibus*
30. *biþe andnam*	*ut accepit*	*accipiens*
38. om. *illi*	om. *illi*	*respondit illi*

XIV.

1. *ni indrobnai*	*ne conturbetur*	*non turbetur* (V)
17. *kann*	*agnoscit*	*novit*
17. *miþ izwis*	*vobiscum*	*aput vos* (V)
20. *ufkunnaiþ jus*	*scietis vos*	*vos cognoscetis* (V)
30. *miþ izwis*	*vobiscum* (V)	*vobis*

XV.

6. *uswairpada u t swe weinatains*	*proicitur foras sicut sarmenta*	*praecidetur sicut sarmentum e t proicietur foras*
8. *wairþaiþ*	*sitis*	*possitis fieri*
12. *ik frijoda*	*ego dilexi*	om. *ego* (V)
16. *ei jus sniwaiþ*	*ut eatis* (V)	omit
18. *fijaida*	*odiit*	*odio habuit* (V)
25. *fijaidedun mik*	*oderunt me*	*o d i o me habuerunt*
26. *weitwodeiþ*	*testificabitur*	*testimonium perhibent* (V)

XVI.

3. *jah þata*	*et haec* (V)	*sed haec*
7. *izwis qiþa*	*vobis dico*	*dico vobis* (V)
30. om. *ergo*	om. *ergo* (V)	*nunc ergo*

XVII.

2. *gibai im*	*det illis*	*det ei*
5. *at þus s i l b i n þamma wulþau þanei habaida at þus*	*aput te i p s u m gloria quam habebam aput te*	*gloriam quam habui aput te ipsum*
8. *nemun bi sunjai þatei fram þus urrann*	*acceperunt i l l a vere quia a te exierunt*	*acceperunt et cognoverunt quia vere a te exivi*
14. om. *et*	om. *et*	*sicut et* (V)
18. om. *tu*	om. *tu*	*sicut tu* (V)
20. om. *et*	om. *et*	*sed et* (V)
20. *þairh waurda ize du mis*	*per verbum illorum in me*	*in me per verbum illorum*
25. *jah so manaseþs*	*et hic mundus*	om. *et*

XVIII.

5. *qaþ*	*dixit*	*dicit* (V)
10. *imma auso*	*illi auriculam*	*auriculam eius* (V)
15. *in rohsn*	*in atrium* (V)	*in atrio*
26. *niþjis was*	*cognatus erat*	*cognatus* (V)
28. *in praitoriaun*	*in praetorium* (V)	*in praetorio*
37. *du þamma qam in þamma fairhvau*	*ad hoc v e n i in hunc mundum*	*ideo veni in mundo*

XIX.

5. *paurpurodon wastja*	*purpuream tunicam*	*tunicam purpuream*
6. om. *eorum*	om. *eorum* (V)	*ministri eorum*
12. *þiudan sik*	*regem se*	*se regem* (V)

In this table of 124 lemmata, *Verc.* has 37 and *Brix.*

has 51 that are identical with the Vulgate, while 36 readings which in *Verc.* agree with the Gothic Bible are different in *Brix.* from the Gothic Bible and from the Vulgate. Of the 185 lemmata in the Gothic Bible and *Brix.* given by Kauffmann 74 are found in *Verc.* Thus we have 198 lemmata in *Verc.* which are found in the Gothic Bible, that is, *Verc.* is closer to the text of the Gothic Bible than *Brix.*, with only 185 such lemmata.

I have already pointed out some blunders which our texts have in common with *Codex Bezae*, and which can have arisen only from a common source. A few additional examples from the Gospel of John may now be added to show that *Verc.* draws either directly from *Bezae* or both from a common minuscule source. John VI. 49 reads οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ἔφαγον ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τὸ μάννα καὶ ἀπέθανον. By some blunder, apparently influenced by John VI. 50, etc., *Bezae* reads here οι πατερες υμων εφαγον τον αρτον εν τη ερημω το μαννα και απεθανον. This absurd tautology τον αρτον-το μαννα, in Latin *patres uestri manducauerunt panem in deserto mannam*, is reproduced literally in *Veron.*, while *Verc.* reads *patres uestri manducauerunt panem in deserto*, where *panem* has taken the place of the redundant τον αρτον, while *mannam* has disappeared. In Bianchini's edition this is written *pa . . . mannam*, but Gasquet apparently did not notice such a double writing. It would be worth while to inspect the MS. once more for a trace of *mannam* in it. In any case, the substitution of *panem* before *in deserto*, instead of *mannam* afterwards, shows that *Verc.* is of more recent origin than *Bezae*, since this substitution is not recorded in any other text.

A short distance further on *Bezae* has a blunder which is due to the fact that *all the texts under discussion originate from a minuscule MS. made up from a Gospel with lectionary notes.* John VI. 56 runs as follows: ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα ἐν ἐμοὶ μένει κἀγὼ ἐν αὐτῷ.

Bezae adds καθωσ εν εμοι ο πατηρ καγω εν τω πατρι αμην αμην λεγω ϋμειν εάν μη λαβητε το σωμα του ϋιου του ανθρωπου ωσ τον αρτον τησ ζωησ ουκ εχετε ζωην εν αυτω, which is a bungled repetition of VI. 57, followed by a similar rendering of VI. 53. We have seen that the figure LXXIIII was placed opposite Matth. XXVII. 66 in *Verc.* With Matth. XXVIII begins at Naples the 64. division of the lections from Matthew.[22] As not all of Matthew is represented in the Lectionary, it is quite certain that the original, from which *Verc.* and the other texts received the divisions, was arranged in numerical order for lectionary purposes. Indeed, most of the beginnings of lections in the Mozarabic liturgy agree with those in *Corb.*

It will be observed that most, if not all, of the blunders of repetition or omission occur at the end or beginning of lections, either because it was not certain to which of the verses the numeral referred, or because, as occasionally happens in the Syriac Lectionary, the lections began by repeating the last verse of a previous lection.[23] The Gothic Bible omits John VI. 39, while *Brix.* marks VI. 40 with asterisks. Apparently the difficulty arose from the resemblance of the two verses. As a matter of fact, verse 40 does not occur in the Mozarabic liturgy, the previous lectionary part ending with verse 39, the second from it beginning with verse 41.[24] In the Syriac Lectionary one lection ends with verse 39, the next begins with verse 40.[25] As verse 40 is omitted in the ninth century Greek codex Λ, which is from the Orient, it is certain that

22 G. Morin, *Liber Comicus*, Maredsoli 1893, in *Anecdota Maredsolana*, vol. I, p. 428.

23 Thus Matth. XIV. 22 is repeated in *Evangeliarium hierosolymitanum*, by F. Miniscalchi Erizzo, Veronae 1861, pp. 142, 144.

24 *Op. cit.*, pp. 110, 111.

25 *Op. cit.*, p. 38.

Greek codices, too, were made up from lectionary readings, and it will be seen later that such codices belong to a period not earlier than the eighth century.

In the case of the blunder contained in John VI. 56 in *Bezae, Veron.* and *Verc.,* we have a confirmation of this discovery, for here the Mozarabic Lectionary ends one lection with verse 55, while the next begins with verse 59.[26] Thus we get at once the important fact that the Gospels under discussion, including *Brix.* and the Gothic Bible, were made up, at least as regards St. John, from a Greek text which was written in at the margin of a text made up from the Mozarabic Lectionary in minuscule in Spain or by Spanish Goths.

A similar phenomenon we may observe in John XVII. 11, 12. The Mozarabic Lectionary has only a part of verse 11, after XVII. 1-3 and before 21-22, namely, *pater sanctae serba eos in nomine tuo quos dedisti mici.* The minuscule MS. which wrote around this verse the lacking parts caused *Bezae* to mix the lines into an impossible jumble by repeating lines from a distance all around the Mozarabic lemma:

Vulgate	*Bezae*
et iam non sum in mundo	*et iam non sum in hoc mundo*
et hi in mundo sunt	*et ipsi in hoc mundo sunt*
et ego ad te venio	*et ego at te venio*
	et in mundo sum
pater sancte, serva eos in nomine tuo	*pater sancte serba eos in nomine tuo*
	et cum essem cum eis ego serbabam eos
(*in nomine tuo*) *quos dedisti mihi*	*in nomine tuo quod dedisti mihi*

[26] *Op. cit.,* pp. 111, 113.

ut sint unum sicut et nos cum essem cum eis, ego servabam eos.	*ut sint unum sicut nos cum essem cum eis ego custodiebam eos.*

Verc. had the same source before it, but jumbled things still worse: *et hi in hoc | mundo sunt | et ego ad te ue|nio. et iam non | sum in hoc | mundo et in | hoc mundo | sunt | Pater sancte | serua eos in | nomine tuo | et in hoc mun|do cum essem | cum illis ego | seruabam eos.* What makes it certain that this whole matter was written around the Mozarabic lemma is the fact that *Pater* begins in *Verc.* with a capital, a fact for which there is here no reason whatsoever, while *Bezae* similarly places the *p* of *pater* to the left, although the nearest passages before and after to be treated in that way are a page off.

In John III. 6 *Verc.* ends with *quia dŝ spŝ est, et ex Deo natus est,* while *Corb.* has *quia dŝ spŝ est.* While the longer lemma is found in Tertullian, the lemma *et ex Deo natum est* is found also in the Mozarabic Lectionary. This shows that the African text was never abolished in Spain, and that the later Syrio-Greek influence found a ready soil on which to work.

The *Codex Monacensis*[27] is already so much reduced by Vulgate corrections that it is not worth while to discuss it separately, but it contains a considerable number of lemmata found in the Gothic Bible, and so the lemmata from St. John may be adduced for reference.

VI.

Gothic	*Monacensis*	*Brixianus*
12. *þei waihtai ni fraqistnai*	*ut ni nil pereat*	*ne quid pereat ex illis*

[27] H. J. White, *The Four Gospels from the Munich MS.* (*q*) *now numbered Lat. 6224 in the Royal Library of Munich*, Oxford 1888, in *Old-Latin Biblical Texts*, No. III.

14. *þ o e i - gatawida taikn iesus*	*quod fecit signum ihs*	*signum quod fecerat Jesus*
24. omit	omit (V)	*confestim*
32. *atta meins gaf*	*pater meus dedit*	*pater meus dat* (V)
37. *þana gaggandan*	*venientem*	*eum qui veniet*
44. *sandida mik*	*misit me* (V)	*me misit*
45. *ist gameliþ*	*est scribtum* (V)	*scribtum est*
49. *matidedun manna*	*manducaverunt manna* (V)	*manna manducaverunt*
53. *leik giban*	*carnem suam dare* (V)	*dare carnem suam*
56. *leik*	*corpus*	*caro* (V)
57. *leik*	*corpus*	*carnem* (V)
67. *managai g a l i - þun siponje is*	*multi recesserunt ex discipulis ejus*	*multi ex discipulis ejus abierunt retro*
70. *sunus gudis libandins*	*filius dei vivi*	*Filius Dei* (V)

VII.

1. *jah hvarboda iesus afar þata*	*et ambulabat ihs post haec*	*post haec ambulabat Jesus*
1. *sokidedun i n a þai iudaieis*	*quaerebant e u m iudaei*	*Judaei q u a e r e bant eum*
7. *ik weitwodja*	*testificor*	*testimonium perhibeo* (V)

23. *hailana gatawida*	*sanum feci* (V)	*salvum feci*
31. *managai þ i z os manageins*	*multi autem d e turba*	*d e turba autem multi* (V)
32. *andbahtans þai fareisaieis jah þ a i auhumistans gudjans*	*ministros pharisaei et principes sacerdotum*	*principes sacerdotum et Pharisaei ministros*
43. *i n þizai managein warþ*	*in turba facta est*	*facta est in turba* (V)
44. *ni ainshun uslagida a n a ina handuns*	*nemo misit super illum manus*	*nemo t a m e n in eum manus injecit*
48. *galaubidedi imma aiþþau fareisaie*	*credidit i n e u m a u t ex fariseis* (V)	*aut ex Pharisaeis credidit in eum*

VIII.

12. *saei laisteiþ mik*	*q u i sequitur me* (V)	*q u i m e secutus fuerit*
18. *sandida mik*	*misit me* (V)	*me misit*
28. *tauja ni waiht*	*facio nihil* (V)	*nihil facio*
29. *bilaiþ mis*	*relinquit me* (V)	*me reliquit*
44. *manamaurþrja was*	*homicida erat* (V)	*homicida facit*
53. om. *qui*	om. *qui* (V)	*qui mortui sunt*
59. *waurpeina a n a ina*	*iactarent in illum*	*eum lapidarent*

IX.

7. omit	omit	*ergo* (V)
8. *þai saihvandans*	*videntes*	*et qui viderant* (V)
20. *im*	*illis*	omit
21. *silba uswahsans ist, ina fraihniþ*	*ipse aetatem habet, ipsum interrogate*	*ipsum interrogate aetatem habet* (V)
25. *þanuh andhof jains*	*dixit ergo ille*	*ille autem respondit*
32. *gahausiþ was*	*auditum est*	*est auditum* (V)
33. *wesi sa*	*esset hic* (V)	*hic esset*
35. *jah bigat ina qaþuh*	*et invenit eum et dixit*	*cum invenisset eum dixit*
38. omit	omit	*procidens* (V)
39. om. *ei*	om. *ei* (V)	*dixit ei*

X.

6. *hva was þatei rodida*	*quae essent que locutus est*	*quid loqueretur* (V)

XII.

48. *þana stojandan sik*	*judicantem de se*	*qui judicet eum* (V)

XIII.

13. *wopeid mik*	*vocatis me* (V)	*me vocatis*
26. *ufdaupjands þana hlaif*	*intinguens panem*	*cum intinxisset panem* (V)

XIV.

12. *þaim*	*his*	*horum* (V)
26. *gamaudeiþ*	*amonebit*	*commonefaciet*
30. *miþ izwis*	*vobiscum* (V)	*vobis*

XV.

2. *akran bairandane*	*fructiferum*	*quod affert fructum*
5. *maguþ taujan ni waiht*	*potestis facere nihil*	*nihil potestis facere* (V)
6. *uswairpada u t swe weinatains*	*proicitur foras sicut sarmentum*	*praecidetur sicut s a r mentum et proicietur foras*
6. *inbrannjada*	*comburetur*	*ardent*
7. *bidjiþ jah wairþiþ*	*petite et fiet*	*petere fiet*
8. *manag*	*copiosum*	*plurimum* (V)
8. *wairþaiþ*	*sitis*	*possitis fieri*
10. om. *et*	om. *et*	*sicut et ego* (V)
10. *in friaþwai is*	*in caritate illius*	*in ejus dilectione* (V)
11. *sijai*	*sit* (V)	*maneat*
13. *ei hvas saiwala seina*	*ut si quis animam suam*	*ut animam suam quis*
16. *ei jus sniwaiþ*	*ut vos eatis*	omit
18. *fijaida*	*odit*	*odio habuit*
26. *weitwodeiþ*	*testificabitur*	*testimonium perhibebit* (V)

XVI.

3. omit	omit	*vobis* (V)
10. *du a t t i n mei-namma gagga*	*ad patrem meum vado*	*vado ad Patrem meum*
13. *anawairþo*	*ventura*	*quae v e n t u r a sunt* (V)
17. *us þaim sipon-jam*	*ex discipulis ejus*	*discipuli ejus*

XVII.

5. *at þus s i l b i n þamma wulþau þanei habaida*	*apud te ipsum illo honore quem habui*	*gloriam quam habui*
8. *nemun bi sunjai þatei*	*acceperunt ea vere cum*	*acceperunt et cognoverunt quia vere*
11. om. *et*	om. *et*	*sicut et nos* (V)
14. om. *et*	om. *et*	*sicut et* (V)
19. *ik weiha mik silban*	*sanctifico me ipsum* (V)	*me ipsum sanctifico*
20. *bi þans galaubjandans þairh waurda ize du mis*	*pro credituris per verbum illorum in me*	*pro illis qui credituri s u n t in me per verbum illorum*

XVIII.

5. *sa lewjands ina*	*proditor illius*	*qui tradebat eum* (V)
10. *auhumistins gudjins skalk*	*principi sacerdoti servum*	*servum principis sacerdotum*

20. *sinteino*	*semper*	*omnes*
38. *ainohun fairino ni bigita*	*n u l lam causam invenio*	*nullam i n v enio causam*

XIX.

4. *in imma ni ainohun fairino bigat*	*in illum culpam non invenio*	*n o n invenio ullam causam in eo*
5. *ut iesus*	*foras ihs*	*Jesus foras*
5. *paurpurodon wastja*	*purpuream tunicam*	*tunicam p u rpuream*
6. om. *eorum*	om. *eorum* (V)	*ministri eorum*
7. *andhofun imma*	*responderunt e i* (V)	om. *ei*
7. *bi þamma witoda unsaramma*	*secundum legem nostram*	om. *nostram* (V)
12. *þiudan s i k silban*	*regem se*	*se regem* (V)

Here we get 83 lemmata in addition to those found in *Brix.*, while the Vulgate readings are only 21 as against 30 in *Brix.*, that is, *Mon.* is nearer the Gothic Bible as regards wording than is *Brix.* As X. 11—XII. 38 are lacking, the number of new lemmata is much increased. Out of 147 lemmata where *Brix.* agrees with the Gothic Bible, 77 are found in *Mon.*, so that we get 160 lemmata which are identical in *Mon.* and the Gothic Bible. If the texts of *Mon.* were as complete as that in the Gothic Bible, we should get 212 lemmata in which *Mon.* and the Gothic Bible agree, that is, an even larger number than in *Verc.*

(*e*). Codex Bezae.

So much has been written about *Codex Bezae* that it would seem that nothing more could be added to the discussion. As a matter of fact, much of what has been written is irrelevant and some of it is absolutely wrong. I shall here discuss only such points as make it clear that *Bezae* was written near the year 800 in France by a Spanish Goth who had an Arabic source before him.

The Greek in *Bezae*[28] is identical with that in *Sang.*, that is, we find here the same confusion of αι and ε, of ει, η and ι, and similar Byzantine spellings. The Latin of *Bezae* is identical with that of *Veron.* and Corb., that is, we have the same confusion of cases, betacism, forms like *talantum* and *jajunium,* etc.,[29] which characterize the Spanish writings of the eighth and ninth century; but there is one French word to be found in the text which makes it impossible for the MS. to have been written anywhere but on Frankish territory or by one who had resided in Frankish territory. That word is *soniis* (μερ'μναισ), found in Luke XXI. 34.[30] I have already shown that this word is derived from Lat. *idoneum* in Frankish territory.[31] But to clear up the matter completely I shall add a few important points. It is generally assumed that the first mention of *sonium* occurs in the *Sortes Sangallenses,*[32] which have been placed in and before the sixth century. We have the sentences "de *sonio* liberaris," "noli dimittere persona de qua *soniaris,*" "noli soniari,"[33] and it is clear

28 F. H. Scrivener, *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis*, Cambridge 1864.

29 See Scrivener, *op. cit.*, p. XL ff.

30 See a discussion of this word by J. Rendel Harris, *A Study of Codex Bezae*, in *Texts and Studies, Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature*, vol. II, No. 1, p. 26 ff.

31 *Commentary to the Germanic Laws and Mediaeval Documents*, Cambridge 1915, p. 165 ff.

32 H. Winnefeld, *Sortes Sangallenses*, Bonnae 1887.

33 *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 36, 37, 42, 44.

that in each case it means "to worry." The editor, Winnefeld, wants to take these *sortes* back to the second century and claims that the MS. is of the sixth century. But the statement does not agree with Scherer's account,[34] for he says that the lower writing of the Palimpsest is in uncial of the sixth or seventh century, while in the back of the book[35] he says "saec VII rescr." The superscribed text, a *Vocabularium latinum,* he places in the eighth century. But Niebuhr placed it in the ninth century,[36] and this is unquestionably nearer the truth, for the vocabulary contains the *Ab absens* group, which is certainly not older than the end of the eighth century, while the blunders[37] which it harbors, such as *japex* for *japyx* "velox," *inefax* for *inefficax* "piger," *ninguidus* "candidus," for *ninguidis* "loca nivalia," *sajax* for *sagax* "celer," and the very composite character of the vocabulary make it certain that it is of a later date. Niebuhr placed the *Sortes Sangallenses* in the seventh or eighth century.[38] It is interesting to observe how there has been a tendency in scholars to recede more and more from late dates for uncial writings. We may safely accept no earlier date than the eighth century for the *Sortes.*

The gloss *"sonia* μερτμνα" occurs for the first time in the Philoxenus glosses of the ninth century and "incuriosus *sine sonio,"* in the Abavus glosses of the ninth century. Before that time *sonium* occurs only in Merovingian documents, but only in the sense of "legal excuse." Outside of Frankish territory *sonium* does not occur, and only with

34 *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen,* Halle 1875, p. 327 f.

35 *Ibid.,* p. 624.

36 *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae,* vol. XXVII, p. X.

37 Scherer, *op. cit.,* p. 327.

38 *Loc. cit.*

Frankish rule in Italy does it penetrate there. Before the eighth century it is not recorded in the sense of "care," and it is extremely doubtful that it was used in that sense before the eighth century even on Frankish territory. This, then, makes it certain that *Bezae* was written in France or by one who had lived in France.

In John XI. 54 *Bezae* reads αλλα απηλθεν εισ την χωρᾶ σαμφουρειν εγγυσ τησ ερημου εισ εφραιμ λεγομενην, and in Latin *abiit in regionem sapfurim iuxta desertum efrem quae dicitur.* This σαμφουρειν *sapfurim* does not occur anywhere else, and J. R. Harris has guessed that it is a corruption of two Syriac words, the second standing for εφραιμ *efrem.*[39] But *Veron.* here records *abiit in regionem longinquam* and *Brix.* has *abiit inde in regione proxima,* which shows that *sapfurim* was taken by the copyists or interpreters to have something to do with a long journey or a journey in a nearby region. Now we have Aram. סְפַר *sfār* "a region at the border," סְפָרָא *sfārā* "border, shore," and similarly in Syriac. The absence of a vowel after *s* precludes our having here a Syriac or Hebrew word, and makes it plausible that we have an Arabic gloss.

The Arabs translated the Gospels either from the Greek, Syriac, or Coptic.[40] The Arabic translations from the Greek of the eighth and ninth centuries have not yet been published, but the few fragments of those that have been described, show conclusively that the Western texts are based upon these Graeco-Arabic versions. Thus *Vat. Arab. 21,* described by Fleischer,[41] contains a few notes and references which help up to recognize the obligation

[39] *Op. cit.*, p. 184.

[40] I. Guidi, *Le traduzioni degli Evangeli in arabo e in etiopico*, in *Atti della R. Academia dei Lincei, serie* IV, *vol.* IV, *p.* 1 ff.

[41] *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft*, vol. VIII, p. 584 ff.

of the first to the latter. We find here the same use of red ink for notes and important references, the Gospels arranged in lectionary form, and the same introduction to the Gospels as in *Corb.* Fortunately Fleischer gives the contents of the introduction to Mark, where Mark is represented as a Levite and descendant of Aaron, who, after becoming a Christian, cut off his right thumb, in order to avoid serving in the Jewish temple. This account is identical with the story as told by Sedulius Scottus.[42] This again proves that Sedulius Scottus and *Corb.* got their introductions from a Spanish source.

I have stated before that the text of *Bezae,* etc., must have been made up of a Gospel arranged in chapters for lectionary readings, as in *Corb.* This is proved by the Arabic *Codex Borgianus K. II. 31,* of which Guidi[43] gives a sample, where we have a lectionary title before Matth. II. 1 and III. 3.

We have fortunately a reproduction of a page of a bilingual Graeco-Arabic Gospel, the only one of this precious oldest Arabic Gospel version preserved, which shows that the earliest bilingual Gospel was based on a Syriacized or lectionary Greek Gospel.[44] Here the reading of Matth. XIII. 51, λεγει αυτοισ ο ιησουσ and ναι κυριε, is found only in Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, in *Codex Ephraimi rescriptus,* and a large number of ninth century Greek texts, including the *Sang.* In such a Graeco-Arabic bilingual text αλλα απηλθεν εκειθεν εισ την χωραν of John XI. 54 would have opposite it in Arabic سفور *sufūrun* or in the construct case *sufūrin* "to set out on a journey, or, more likely, سفر *safarun* in the construction في سفرٍ *fī safarin* "he

42 Mai, *Scrip. vet. nov. coll.,* vol. IX, p. 169.

43 *Op. cit.,* p. 10.

44 J. R. Harris, *Biblical Fragments from Mount Sinai,* London 1890, No. 9, and *Studia Sinaitica,* London 1894, No. 1, p. 105.

went with the intention of performing a journey of three days or nights, or more" (Lane). This word, in all probability, got over the Greek phrase as an interlinear gloss and was taken for the country into which he went. The writers of *Veron.* and *Brix.* were puzzled by the gloss, and so one ventured on the addition "a long journey," the other, "a journey into a nearby country." Thus it is clear that *Bezae* or its predecessor was acquainted with Arabic.

John IV. 46 and 49 have in *Bezae* βασιλισκοσ. In IV. 46 it is translated by *basiliscus. Verc.* has similarly in IV. 46 *basiliscus,* but *regulus* in verse 49. This unique error again connects *Verc.* with *Bezae.* The writer of *Bezae* knew the equivalence of *regulus* and *basiliscus,* and so changed βασιλικοσ to βασιλισκοσ. This tendency of making the Greek conform to the Latin has been amply dealt with by Harris.[45] Such an error could hardly have happened before Carolingian times, because it is only then that the Byzantine *basileus* becomes a fashionable appellation for a king, especially in England. The new appellation must already have become known, if the translator could substitute it for *regulus,* as he wrote *sonium* for *cogitatio,* another Frankish mannerism.

John V. 4 is omitted in *Bezae, Brix.* and *Mon.* As the pre-Hieronymian writers quote this verse and it is contained in the great majority of the Greek texts, this omission cannot be original. The *Codex Sinaiticus* omits it, but the Graeco-Arabic Gospel of Sinai, no doubt, stands in some relation to the Sinaitic Greek Gospel, and so the habit of omitting the verse is of later origin, as regards the Latin text. It is interesting to observe in *Sang.* that this John V. 4 is the end of a chapter. Opposite it, in the margin, there is an *r.* As this letter is placed against doubtful passages, generally where some Greek words are

[45] *Op. cit.*, p. 62 ff.

left untranslated, it may here indicate some doubt as to the preservation of the verse.

For John VI. 22 *Bezae* has *in quam intrauerant discipuli ihu,* where *Verc.* has *in qua ascenderant discipuli ihu,* which is omitted everywhere else. Here *Sang. leaves* εκεινο εισ ον ανεβησαν untranslated and marks an *r* in the margin.

A similar close relation between *Verc.* and *Bezae* once more appears in John VI. 23 where both omit *gratias agentes domino. Bezae* omits John VIII. 46, but Tischendorff has already observed that this is a mere blunder due to the eye wandering from πιστευετε μοι of VIII. 45 down to VIII. 46.

In John XIII. 2 *Bezae* (and with it *Codex Palatinus Vindobonensis,* which shares many peculiarities with *Veron.* and *Corb.*) writes *iuda simonis a caryoto,* in Greek, ϊουδα σιμωνοσ απο καρυωτου.[46] This reading, if nothing else, proves conclusively that the writer of *Bezae* was acquainted with Arabic etymology. Jerome etymologized as follows: "*Iscarioth* memoriale domini, quod si uoluerimus *Issacharioth* legere, interpretatur est merces eius."[47] The Anglo-Saxon gloss[48] has "*Scarioth* uicus memoria mortis," which would be perfectly incomprehensible without the Greek gloss in the *Onomastica vaticana*[49] "Ἰσκαριὼθ σκηνὴ θανάτου ἢ μνημόσυνον ἢ μνεία θανάτου." But even this fails to account for "vicus." The matter becomes somewhat clearer through the gloss in the *Codex Sangallensis 912,*[50] supposedly of the eighth century, "*Scariothes* memoria domini et memoria mortis appellatum est iuda uico in quo natus est." Here we at once get the explanation:

[46] Also John XII. 4, XIII. 26.

[47] P. de Lagarde, *Onomastica sacra,* Goettingae 1887, p. 94.

[48] J. H. Hessels, *An Eighth Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary,* Cambridge 1890, p. 7.

[49] Lagarde, *op. cit.,* p. 204.

[50] Goetz, *Corpus glossariorum latinorum,* vol. IV, p. 282.

the gloss is a translation of an Arabic etymology, in which *Iscariotes* was derived from قَرْيَة *qariyat* "village." We have the Aram. קִרְיָא *qiryā*, קִרְיְתָא *qēryĕtā*, קוּרְיָא *qūryā*, Syr. *qrītā* "village," none of which could have been used as an etymon for *Iscariotes*, whereas Arab. *qariyat* needs no further explanation. In John XIV. 22 we have *ascaryotes* απο καρυώτου, where the peculiar form *ascaryotes* is apparently due to the Arabic writing which begins with an *a*.

In John XIII. 6 *Bezae* and *Verc.* have *petrum simonem,* just as it occurs in the Gothic Bible in John VI. 8.

When we now turn to a comparison of readings in the Gothic Bible and *Bezae* as they occur in St. John, we find approximately the same relation as before.

III.

Gothic	*Codex Bezae*	*Brixianus*
25. *us siponjam*	*a discipulis*	*inter discipulos*

V.

38. *wisando in izwis*	*manens in vobis*	*in vobis manentem*

VI.

3. *usiddja*	*abiit*	*ascendit*
14. *g a s aihvandans þoei gatawida taikn iesus*	*videntes quod fecit signum*	*cum vidissent signum quod fecerat Jesus*
15. *kunnands*	*sciens*	*cum cognovisset* (V)
15. *ei tawidedeina*	*ut faciant*	*et facerent* (V)
21. *ina niman*	*illum accipere*	*accipere eum* (V)

22. *s i p o njam seinaim iesus in þata skip*	*c u m discipulis suis ihs in nauem* (V)	*Jesus cum discipulis suis in navicula*
24. omit	omit	*confestim*
24. *in kafarnaum*	*in Cafarnaum*	*Cafarnaum* (V)
30. *taujis þu taikne*	*facis tu signum*	*tu signum facis*
32. *hlaif us himina þana sunjeinan*	*panem d e caelo uerum* (V)	*panem de caelo*
38. *unte atstaig*	*quoniam descendi*	*quoniam ideo ðescendi*
41. *atsteigands u s himina*	*descendi de caelo*	*de caelo descendi* (V)
45. *ist gameliþ*	*est scriptum* (V)	*scribtum est enim*
53. *leik giban*	*carnem dare*	*dare carnem*
64. omit *enim*	omit *enim* (V)	*spiritus est enim*
64. *ahma ist jah libains ist*	*sps est vita est*	*spiritus s u n t et vita*
72. *iudan seimonis iskariotu*	*i u d a n simonis scarioth*	*de Juda Simonis Scariotis*

VII.

1. *in galeilaia*	*in Galilaea*	*in Galilaeam* (V)
1. *in iudaia*	*in iudaea*	*in Judaeam* (V)
1. *sokidedun i n a þai iudaieis*	*quaerebant illum iudaei*	*J u d a e i quaerebant eum*
8. omit *autem*	omit *autem* (V)	*vos autem ascendite*
12. om. *enim*	*quidam enim* (V)	om. *enim*

12. om. *autem*	om. *autem*	*alii autem* (V)
12. *þo managein*	*populum*	*turbas* (V)
18. om. *enim*	om. *enim* (V)	*qui enim a semetipso*
23. *hailana gatawida*	*sanum feci* (V)	*salvum feci*
30. *handu*	*manum*	*manus* (V)
41. om. *autem*	om. *autem* (V)	*alii autem*
41. om. *vero*	om. *vero*	*quidam vero*
44. *uslagida ana ina handuns*	*misit in illum manums*	*in eum manus injecit*
48. *galaubidedi imma aiþþau fareisaie*	*credit in eum aut de pharisaeis*	*aut ex Pharisaeis credidit in eum*
50. om. *autem*	om. *autem* (V)	*dixit autem*

VIII.

14. *jabai ik weitwodja*	*etsi ego testifícor*	*si ego testimonium perhibeo* (V)
26. *þata rodja*	*haec loquor* (V)	*et loquor*
27. om. *et*	om. *et*	*et non intellexerunt*
28. *tauja ni waiht*	*facio nihil* (V)	*nihil facio*
31. *þaim galaubjandam sis iudaium*	*qui crediderant ei judaeis*	*qui ex Judaeis crediderunt ei*
44. *manamaurþrja was*	*homicida fuit*	*homicida facit*

52. *mein waurd*	*meum verbum*	*sermonem meum* (V)
53. om. *qui*	om. *qui* (V)	*qui mortui sunt*
57. *þai iudaieis du imma*	*judaei ad eum* (V)	*ad eum Judaei*
59. *waurpeina a n a ina*	*mitterent super eum*	*eum lapidarent*

IX.

9. *þamma ist*	*ipsi est*	*est ei* (V)
14. *imma augona*	*ei oculos*	*oculos ejus* (V)
17. *qeþunuh*	*dicebant*	*dicunt* (V)
25. *þ a n u h andhof jains*	*respondit ergo ille*	*ille autem respondit* (V)
26. *uslauk þus*	*aperuit tibi* (V)	*tibi aperuit*
30. *uslauk m i s augona*	*aperuit mihi oculos*	*aperuit o c u l o s meos*
31. *g u þ frawaurhtaim*	*deus peccatorum*	*peccatores deus*
34. *þu gabaurans warst*	*tu natus es*	om. *tu* (V)
35. *jah bigat ina qaþuh*	*et invenit eum et dixit*	*c u m invenisset eum dixit* (V)
38. omit	omit	*procidens* (V)
39. omit	omit (V)	*ei*

X.

4. omit	omit	*oves* (V)
5. *framaþjana stibna*	*alienorum vocem*	*vocem alienorum* (V)

6. *hva was þ a t e i rodida*	*quae erant quae dicebat*	*q u i d loqueretur eis* (V)
14. omit	omit (V)	*oves*
15. omit	omit	*meis* (V)
18. omit	omit	*sed ego pono eam a me ipso*
18. *nam at a t t i n meinamma*	*accepi a patre*	*a patre meo accepi*
25. omit	omit	*eis* (V)
25. *galaubeiþ*	*creditis* (V)	*crediditis*
25. *weitwodjand*	*testificantur*	*testimonium perhibent* (V)
28. *ni f r a w i l wiþ hvashun*	*non rapiet quisquam*	*nec quisquam rapiet*
32. *goda waurstwa*	*bona opera* (V)	*opera bona*
33. *stainjam þuk*	*lapidamus te* (V)	*te lapidamus*
38. om. *est*	om. *est*	*est Pater*

XI.

1. omit	omit (V)	*nomine*
2. *wasuh þ a n marja*	*erat autem maria*	*Maria autem erat* (V)
5. omit	omit	*Mariam* (V)
8. *þ u k afwaírpan stainam iudaieis*	*te lapidare judaei*	*te Judaei lapidare* (V)
21. *weseis her*	*hic fuisses*	*fuisses hic* (V)

22. *guþ*	*deum*	*a Deo* (V)
40. *qaþ þus*	*dixi tibi* (V)	*tibi dixi*

XII.

16. *du þamma gameliþ*	*de eo scripta*	*scribta de eo* (V)
17. *weitwodida þan*	*testificabantur ergo*	*testimonium ergo perhibebat* (V)
19. *boteiþ*	*prodefacitis*	*proficimus* (V)
35. *jah saei*	*et qui* (V)	om. *et*

XIII.

13. *wopeid mik*	*clamatis me*	*me vocatis*
14. *þwahan fotuns*	*lavare pedes* (V)	*pedes lavare*
18. *usfulliþ waurþi þata gamelido*	*impleatur scriptura*	*scribtura impleatur*
22. *þagkjandans*	*cogitantes*	*hesitantes* (V)
24. *du fraihnan*	*interrogaret*	*interroga*
26. *ufdaupjands*	*intingens*	*cum intinxisset* (V)
34. *frijoþ misso izwis*	*diligatis invicem* (V)	*invicem diligatis*
38. omit	omit	*illi*

XIV.

1. *izwar hairto*	*vestrum cor*	*cor vestrum* (V)
2. *stad izwis*	*locum vobis*	*vobis locum* (V)
9. *gasahv mik, gasahv attan*	*vidit me vidit patrem*	*me vidit vidit et patrem*

17. *ahma*	*spiritus*	*spiritum* (V)
20. *ufkunnaiþ jus*	*cognoscetis vos*	*vos cognoscetis* (V)
26. *sandeiþ*	*mittet* (V)	*missurus est*

XV.

7. *bidjiþ jah wairþiþ*	*petite et fit*	*petere fiet*
8. *wairþaiþ*	*sitis*	*possitis fieri*
10. *in friaþwai is*	*in caritate ipsius*	*in ejus dilectione* (V)
16. *ik gawalida izwis*	*elegi vos* (V)	*vos elegi*
16. *ei jus sniwaiþ*	*ut vos eatis*	omit

XVI.

6. *izwar hairto*	*vestrum cor*	*cor vestrum* (V)
9. *galaubjand*	*credunt*	*crediderunt* (V)
10. *du attin mainamma gagga*	*ad patrem vado* (V)	*vado ad patrem meum*
12. *qiþan izwis*	*dicere vobis*	*vobis dicere* (V)
15. omit	omit	*vobis* (V)
17. *us þaim siponjam*	*ex discipulis ejus* (V)	*discipuli ejus*
17. *ik gagga*	*ego vado*	*vado ego*
20. *greitiþ jah gaunoþ jus*	*plorabitis et plangetis vos*	*vos plorabitis et flebitis*

XVII.

5. *at þus silbin þamma wulþau þanei habaida at þus*	*ad teipsum gloria quam habebam aput te*	*gloriam quam habui aput te ipsum*
8. *nemun bi sunjai þatei*	*acceperunt vere quoniam*	*acceperunt et cognoverunt quia vere*
11. om. *et*	om. *et*	*sicut et nos* (V)
18. om. *tu*	om. *tu*	*tu me misisti* (V)
19. *ik weiha mik silban*	*sanctifico me ipsum* (V)	*me ipsum sanctifico*
20. *þairh waurda ize du mis*	*per verbum eorum in me* (V)	*in me per verbum illorum*
22. om. *et*	om. *et*	*sicut et nos* (V)
24. *þatei*	*quod*	*quos* (V)

Here we have 118 readings identical in the Gothic Bible and in *Bezae,* which are not in *Brix.* Of these, 32 of *Bezae* and 49 of *Brix.* are from the Vulgate, so that it appears that *Brix.* is a closer approximation to the Vulgate than *Bezae.* There are 65 readings common to *Bezae* and *Brix.,* identical with those in the Gothic Bible. Thus we have 183 readings of *Bezae* identical with the Gothic Bible. As the passages of *Bezae* in existence are about 13/15 of those preserved in the Gothic Bible, we should have had 211 readings which would be identical in *Bezae* and the Gothic Bible. But that is not the whole truth, for of the remaining discordant readings in *Bezae* and *Brix.* a very large number represents in *Bezae* an intermediate stage between *Brix.* and the Vulgate, often closer in form to the readings in the Gothic Bible than in the Vulgate. Such cases are:

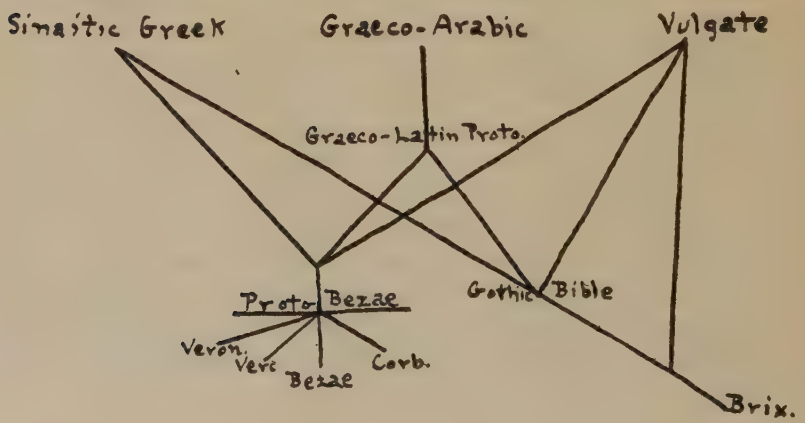
XVI.

	Bezae	*Brixianus*	Vulgate
13.	*u o s diriget i n ueritati omni*	*diriget uos in omnem ueritatem*	*docebit u o s omnem ueritatem*
21.	*pepererit infantem*	*n a t u s fuerit infans*	*pepererit puerum*

XVII.

1.	*adlebans oculos suos*	*e l e uauit oculos suos*	*subleuatis oculis*
23.	*perfecti consummati*	*perfecti*	*consummati*

Thus it appears that *Bezae* is considerably nearer to the Gothic text than *Brix.* and even nearer than *Veron.*, *Verc.* and *Corb.*, which belong to the same group. Some Graeco-Arabic prototype of the Sinaitic type was apparently rendered into a Graeco-Latin bilingual Gospel text, and from the Latin of this text were derived all the MSS. discussed by me, through various approximations to the Vulgate on the one hand and to the Greek on the other. The correlation of the texts may be illustrated by the following arrangement.



From the preceding pages it follows, first of all, that a bilingual Graeco-Arabic Gospel text of the Sinaitic type was employed by Goths in the formation of a new Graeco-Latin text and also in creating a vocabulary for the Gothic language. The same vocabulary was employed in the formation of the other Germanic languages, St. Gall serving in the middle of the eighth century as a distributing point of this new kind of literature.

That a considerable, possibly the major, part of the Arabic vocabulary in the Germanic languages was obtained in this way may be illustrated, for the present, by a particular case, leaving it to a future volume to deal with hundreds of such etymologies. In a fragment of a Graeco-Arabic Gospel,[51] possibly from the same text as the one mentioned before, the Gr. ἡτοιμασμένον (Matth. XXV. 41) is translated by معدّ *maʿūḍah*. It must be remembered that ع was locally often nasalized, even as Heb. ע is nasalized by the Spanish Jews. In the Gothic Bible the corresponding word is *manwido*. We have also the noun *manwiþa* "readiness." Now the Gothic verb *manwjan* "to prepare, make ready" has no known etymology and no related forms in the other Germanic languages. It is unquestionably a back formation from the Arabic participial form. The words *eisarn, bijandzuþþan, mesa,* etc., which I have already discussed,[52] apparently owe their origin to a similar bilingual text.

In *Codex Sangallensis 912* we found *Iscarioth* explained by *vicus*, which shows that at the writing of this vocabulary, which there is no reason to ascribe to any other locality, the habit of etymologizing in the Arabic fashion

51 V. Beneševič, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum qui in Monasterio Sanctae Catharinae in Monte Sina asservantur*, Petropoli 1911, vol. I, p. 612.

52 Vol. I, pp. xxvi f., xxii.

and from an Arabic source was as well established, as in Jerome's time it was considered proper to refer every Biblical name, even such non-Hebrew names as *Lycaonia,* to a Hebrew original.

Codex Bezae proves by its απο καρυωτου *a caryoto* and Σαμφουρειν *Sapfurim,* that such Arabic etymologies were accessible to it, and the employment of *sonium* for *cogitatio* makes it imperative that a Frankish region or one under Frankish influence should have been the domicile of its writer. It so happens that *sonium* is first recorded in the new meaning of μεριμνα in the infrascript of a St. Gall palimpsest. Although the Philoxenus Graeco-Latin vocabulary is not recorded as coming from St. Gall, the interlinear, glossarial form of the bilingual *Codex Sangallensis* shows conclusively that Greek was practiced at St. Gall. There is, therefore, good ground to suspect that St. Gall may have been the home of *Codex Bezae,* that is, that a Spanish Goth composed it there. This is further strengthened by απο καρυωτου of *Codex Bezae,* which either gave rise to the unique etymology in the *Codex Sangallensis 912* and in the Anglo-Saxon glossary, in which the St. Gall influence has long been suspected, or *vice versa.* There is here no escape from the relation of *Codex Bezae* to St. Gall.

The *Vercelli, Verona* and *Corbey* Gospels are closely related to *Codex Bezae,* and, therefore, must be considered as having proceeded from the same St. Gall school. The Gothic Bible and *Codex Brixianus,* though based on the same method of textual adherence to Greek originals of the Sinaitic type, seem to be cleared of the crudeness and blunders characteristic of the St. Gall Spanish group. They must have originated at a somewhat later time.

We saw from the study of the St. Gall documents[53]

[53] Vol. I, p. 158 ff.

that about 760, possibly a few years earlier, the Arabic learning began to influence the documentary language of that region. To the period immediately following it must be ascribed the activity of the Bible text reformers. The bilingual *Codex Sangallensis* seems to be written in an Irish calligraphy. We have already seen that Johannes Scottus stood in some relation to the Arabico-Spanish introductions to the Gospels. To his school are ascribed the *Codex Sangallensis* and several other bilingual texts,[54] and Johannes Scottus was acquainted with the text on which the Gothic Bible is based. Thus we get up to the end of the ninth century a continuous Irish obligation to Gothic scholarship at St. Gall. It is, therefore, very doubtful if the alleged Greek renaissance of Irish scholarship is independent of and older than the Arabico-Gothic renaissance of Greek learning.

From St. Gall the Gothic learning spread to northern Italy at a time when that country fell under Frankish sway and one monastery after another received abbots from Gaul. With the introduction of the new clergy, mostly from Corbey, there came also the new science and the new calligraphy. Of course, northern Italy and Ravenna may have received Gothic accessions directly from Gothia, but the fact that they so frequently referred to the *lex Gothorum* shows that they exercised the specific privilege as granted to them by the Frankish kings. In their new surroundings the Arian writings which they had brought from Spain and the Gothic Bible soon became useless to the Goths, and here all such manuscripts were erased, in order to give place to more important writings. Thus it happens that the greater part of Gothic documents were preserved in Italy. Berger has already noticed the extremely large number of Spanish Bibles in Italy, as late

54 W. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, Cambridge 1915, pp. 483, 454, 445, and A. Reichardt, *Der Codex Boernerianus*, Leipzig 1909, p. 14.

as the tenth century. This would indicate continuous accessions of Spanish Goths, most likely from the adjoining Gothia.

We have already noticed in the study of the documents that the Arabic words appear successively in the region along the Rhine and in England. It has been observed [55] that the early Anglo-Saxon glossaries owe their origin to St. Gall. This then explains the interest in Arabic words which we have already seen in England in the documents of the end of the eighth century. [56] Gothic, itself deriving a considerable vocabulary from the Arabic, transmitted the new learning to Anglo-Saxon learning, as it had already done with Frankish and Old-Saxon.

We can now proceed to the study of the component parts of the Germanic vocabularies, due to the Arabico-Gothic school of learning. I begin with the investigation of a few ghost words of Latin origin, especially such as arose through the etymologizing propensity of Jerome and as perpetuated by Isidore and the Spanish glossators.

[55] J. H. Hessels, *A Late Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary*, Cambridge 1906, p. XIII.

[56] Vol. I, p. 196 ff.

GERMANIC GHOST WORDS.

The Germanic languages based their literary norms on their ancient glossaries, and these were bred in ignorance. The oldest of the OHGerman, the Keronian glosses, contain a series of the most laughable and idiotic blunders, which have already roused the indignation of Germanic scholars.[1] Unfortunately, these scholars have not drawn the proper conclusions as to the origin of these glosses, nor to the period at which they were composed.

The glosses have come down to us in three manuscripts, *Cod. Paris* 7640, *Cod. S. Galli* 911, *Cod. Carolsruh. Aug.* CXI, which I shall name, with Sievers and Steinmeyer, *Pa., Gl. K.*, and *Ra.* respectively, while the later, pseudo-Hrabanian glossary will similarly be marked *R.* Kögel assumes that *Pa.* was written about 740, *Gl. K.* about 760, *Ra.* about 800,[2] but it is far more likely that a few decades must be added to each one of these dates. The origin of the glossary will become clear from the study of the blunders contained in it.[3]

Of Isidore's glosses, as he wrote them, not a trace has been found.[4] The earliest full edition of this work, made

1 R. Koegel, *Ueber das Keronische Glossar*, Halle 1879, p. III. ff.

2 *Ibid.*, p. XLVIII.

3 I shall write Goetz for G. Goetz, *Corpus glossariorum latinorum*, and shall use the following abbreviations for the Codices contained in this work: *AA.* = *Glossae AA*, *Abac.*, = *Abactor*, *Abav.* = *Abauus*, *Ab. M.* = *Abauus Major*, *Abs.* = *Ab absens*, *Aff.* = *Affatim*, *Amb.* = *Ambrosianus*, *Amp. I.* = *Amplianum primum*, *Amp. II.* = *Amplianum secundum*, *Ayn.* = *Aynardi*, *Cass.* = *Cassinensis*, *Gloss.* = *Liber glossarum*, *Leid.* 88 = *Leid. Voss. Lat.* 88, *Non.* = *Nonii*, *Plac.* = *Placidus Libri glossarum*, *Plac. P.* = *Placidus Codicis Parisini*, *Sang.* = *Sangallensis* 912, *Vat.* 1468, 1471 = *Vaticanus* 1468, 1471, etc.

4 *Isidori Etymologiae, Codex Toletanus* (*nunc Matritensis*) 15, 8, phototypice editus, prefatus est Rudolphus Beer, Lugduni Batavorum 1909, p. II 2.

after 733,[5] no doubt contains all of Isidore's genuine text, but it certainly has some interpolations, one of which is of particular interest to us. Isidore quotes correctly the older authorities in describing the provinces of Mauritania and Gaetulia,[6] but there is one passage which contradicts all the others and cannot possibly have originated in Isidore's time.

Isidore is supposed to say: "Getuli Getae dicuntur fuisse, qui ingenti agmine a locis suis navibus conscendentes, loca Syrtium in Libya occupaverunt, et quia ex Getis venerant, derivato nomine Getuli cognominati sunt. Unde et opinio est apud Gothos ab antiqua cognatione Mauros consanguinitate propinquos sibi vocare." Immediately after this follows the statement that Africa was successively inhabited by Libyans, Afri, Gaetuli, and, at last, Mauri and Numidians. There is nothing strange in the confusion of the Gaetuli and Mauri, because a loose use of the two names may be inferred from their occurrence in Vergil; but there is absolutely no warrant for saying that there was a current opinion among the Goths that the Mauri called the Goths, or the Goths called the Mauri, their blood-relations, from the Goths' ancient relation to the Gaetuli. Such a sentiment could have arisen only from an attempt to justify a close friendship between the Arabicized Berbers,[7] called Mauri, and the pro-Arabic Goths in the south of Spain.

The *Codex Toletanus* bears ample evidence to the fact that at the time of the writing of the Arabic glosses, which, as we shall soon see, was during the Adoptionist controversy, some Goths were already more conversant with Arabic than with Latin, even though they remained

[5] *Ibid.*, p. III 2.

[6] H. Philipp, *Die historisch-geographischen Quellen in den Etymologiae des Iisidorus von Sevilla*, Berlin 1913, in Index.

[7] In the *Codex Toletanus* (f. 78u.) "Getuli" is glossed by بربر

Christians. That the writer, or the second annotator, of these glosses was a Christian is shown by the fact that opposite certain Christian passages are found pious exclamations in Arabic. Opposite "cuius nox ideo pervigilia ducitur, propter adventum regis ac Dei nostri, ut tempus resurrectionis eius nos non dormientes, sed vigilantes inveniat, cuius noctis duplex ratio est: sive quod in ea et vitam tunc recepit, cum passus est; sive quod postea eadem hora, qua resurrexit, ad iudicandum venturus est" (VI. 17, 12, *C. T.*, fol. 50^{r})[8] is the remark افهم نعما "observe the mercy." Opposite "tamen quia sanctus Spiritus mystice illa vivificat, qui quondam Apostolico in tempore visibilibus apparebat operibus" (VI. 19. 42, *C. T.*, fol. 52^{u}) stands انظر "consider." Opposite the careful discussion about the Holy Ghost, and directly against "Spiritus sanctus ideo non dicitur genitus, ne duo in Trinitate Filii suspicentur" (VII. 3. 6, *C. T.*, fol. 57^{u}) stands ابصر "observe." Opposite "item Paracletus, pro eo quod consolationem praestet animabus, qui gaudium temporale amittunt" (VII. 3. 12, *C. T.*, fol. 57^{u}) stands افهم "observe." Opposite "in tantum autem (Spiritus) donum Dei est, in quantum datur eis qui per eum diligunt Deum" (VII. 3. 16, *C. T.*, fol. 58^{r}) stands ابصر "observe." Opposite "Trinitas appellata quod fiat totum unum ex quibusdam tribus, quasi Triunitas" (VII. 4. 1, *C. T.*, fol. 58^{u}) stands ابصر "observe." Similar pious exclamations are found opposite V. 27. 24, V. 39. 34, VI. 8. 12, VII. 3. 29, VII. 5. 32, IX. 2. 105.

The annotator was apparently writing a sermon or disquisition on the Holy Ghost or on a subject which was

[8] I quote the passages from W. M. Lindsay's *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX*, Oxonii [1911].

directly connected with the interpretation of the nature of the Holy Ghost, and so he marked out the passages which he was going to use in his essay. He was taking part in the Adoptionist controversy, which laid particular emphasis on the relation of the Holy Ghost to Christ, and that he was opposed to the Adoptionists is proved by the fact that he struck out the Arabic word for "adobtione," which he had put down opposite a sentence that might have been construed as favoring the Adoptionist heresy. Opposite the discussion about being sons by adoption of God, "adoptione quoque, quod humana consuetudine nulli licet nescire, vel sicut nos Deo non natura, sed adoptione dicimus: 'Pater noster, qui es in caelis' " (IX. 5. 16, *C. T.*, fol. 82[u]) stood the word التبنا, which is marked out by three strokes, so as to make it illegible. Yet he left the word التبنا in front of "adoptivus" (IX. 5. 20), where the reference is purely to human relations. It is a significant fact that this is the only word crossed out in the whole work.

It can now be shown that the Keronian glosses are, as regards the glossing of countries, based directly upon an Arabicized version of Isidore's *Etymologiae,* akin to the *Codex Toletanus.* In the Keronian glosses the following nations or countries are glossed: *Aethyops* (SS., I. 30), *Argevi* (32), *Asiani* (34), *Ausonia* (34), *Aegyptus* (52), *Gage* (164), *Getulia* (164), *Hisperia* (172), *Hibene* (172), *Tyrus* (259, 262). Of these, *Tyrus* is a blunder pure and simple. It is glossed

		Gl. K.	Ra.	R.
P. 259.	*Tyrus* rustigus	unsupar rustih	unsupar	*Tirus* atrox
P. 262.	*Tyrus* angustia	enki	engi	*Tyri* liuti

The gloss *"Tirus* atrox" shows that the confusion was here with *dirus,* but the other glosses have arisen in an entirely different way. Jerome explains *Tyrus* as from Hebrew *sor* "angustia," [9] and Theodoritus said that in the language of the country people it was called *Sor.* [10] From these Hieronymian glosses, which were frequently repeated, we get *"Tyrus* angustia" in the *Corpus Glossary* [11] and in the Keronian glosses, while from the original statement of Theodoritus we get also *"Tyrus* rustigus." But the German glossator confused the confusion. *Enki,* the translation of "angustia," which means "sorrow," and not "narrowness," became a translation of *Tyrus,* while "rusticus" he took to be a gloss of *Tyrus,* and so left the word in the OHGerman form as *rustih.* He again confused *Tyrus* with *tyrannus,* which is in the Latin glosses explained, not only as "rex crudelis,"[12] "malus rex,"[13] but also as *"usurpans* indebitum, imperium."[14] This *usurpans* he took for a German word, and transformed it into *unsupar.*

	Pa.	Gl. K.
Aethyops	moori	mori
gens	chunni	chunni
sub occasu	incagan sunnun sedalt	incagan sunnun sedhale
Aethiopia		mo : ri
tenebre		finstre

9 *"Tyro angustiae.* Tyrus quippe lingua Hebraea *sor* dicitur, quod in nostrum sermonem transfertur, *angustia,"* Migne, vol. XXIII, col. 843.

10 "Τύρος Σὸρ τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ προσαγορεύεται φωνῇ," *ibid.,* col. 808.

11 Hessels, *An Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary,* Cambridge 1890, p. 7.

12 Goetz, IV. 468.

13 Goetz, IV. 184, 399, V. 540.

14 Goetz, IV. 185, 574, V. 102, 158.

Jerome wrote *"Aethiopiae* tenebrae uel caliginis,"[15] while Isidore says, "duae sunt autem *Aethiopiae:* una circa ortum solis, altera circa occasum in Mauretania."[16] Jerome's explanation is in the *Liber Glossarum, "Aezypia* tenebre, *Aezyopes* tenebrosi,"[17] whence it found its way into the Keronian glosses; while Isidore's statement, which is a repetition of Servius' commentary to the *Aeneid* IV. 481, produced the corresponding Keronian lemma. The OHGerman translation is an exact rendering of the lemmata, while *Mauretania* suggested the OHG. *Mori.*

	Pa.	Gl. K.
Argeui	liuti	liuti
greci	chrechi	chreachi
uel medi	edo mittilari	edho mitilari

The lemma is found in the *Sang.* 912, *Affatim* and *Amp. II* glosses, and the identification of the Argives with the Medes is due to Isidore's account of the derivation of the Medes from Medus, King of Athens, stepson of Jason and Medea, an account which he copied from Justin.[18] The German glossator found it possible to blunder even here, by understanding *medi* as *medii* and translating it by *mittilari.*

	Pa.	Gl. K.
Asiani (Asiam)	lantscaf	lantscaf
greci	chrechi	

The lemma is found in the *Sang,* 912, *Affatim* and *Amp. II* glosses and is due to a misunderstanding of Isidore's "gens est multitudo ab uno principio orta, sive ab alia natione secundum propriam collectionem distincta, ut *Graeciae,*

[15] P. de Lagarde, *Onomastica sacra,* Goettingae 1887, 2. 16.
[16] XIV. 5. 16.
[17] Goetz, V. 164.
[18] H. Philipp, *op. cit.,* p. 16.

Asiae," which the glossators mistook for an identification of Asia with Greece. The German glossator did not know how to translate *Asiam,* even as he left the other names untranslated.

"Ausonia italia" is found only as a lemma, while *"Hibene* spania," glossed as "liutstam spani," is a misreading of Isidore's "Hispania prius ab Ibero amne *Iberia* nuncupata,"[19] already found in Servius' gloss to the *Aeneid* XI. 913 and in Justin,[20] and repeated in a large number of Latin glosses. *"Hisperia* italia" is glossed at greater length as "lantscaf untar alpeō anti seuuiu lancparta daz sint rumare," one of the rare signs of intelligence in the Keronian glosses.

	Pa.	Gl. K.	R.
Aegyptus	egipti	ekifti	*Aegyptus* tribulatio
tribulatio	arapaiti	arpeiti	*t* angustia *t* tenebre

This is Jerome's *"Aegyptus,* tribulatio coangustans",[21] also "tenebrae."[22] *"Gage, Gata,* guti," glossed "liuti gudi," is merely Isidore's *"magis Getas* quam *Gothos* vocaverunt,"[23] already mentioned in Jerome, "et certe *Gothos* omnes retro eruditi magis *Getas* quam *Gog* et Magog appellare consueverant," and frequently repeated in the Latin glosses. The form *Gage* is due to one of the following misreadings:

Gece goti, *Vat.* 3321, IV. 82.

Getage garrit gotice loquitur, *L. G.,* V. 205.

The form *guti* is precisely the same as the Arabic gloss قوطى *qūtī,* which stands opposite the passage in IX. 2. 89.

"Getulia Mauritania cachunni edo calihida" has for its lemma the same sequence as in *Vat.* 3321, *Abs., Ab. M.,*

19 XIV. 4. 28.
20 H. Philipp, *op. cit.,* p. 121.
21 Lagarde, *Onomastica sacra,* 2. 29.
22 *Ibid.,* 66. 28.
23 IX. 2. 89.

Abac., while *"Getoli* mauri" is also found in *Aff.* Of course, some of the Vergil glosses may have given rise to this Keronian gloss, but it is a significant fact that outside of glosses of proper names, all of them based on Jerome, we have the insignificant number just discussed, all directly out of Isidore, and two of these, *Getulia* and *Geta,* are those that are glossed in Arabic. One is forced to the conclusion that an Arabic or Gothic vocabulary, based on the Arabic glosses of the *Codex Toletanus,* served the glossators of *Vat.* 3321, *Abs., Ab. M., Abac.* and *Aff.,* as well as of the Keronian glosses, as the basis for words not yet included in the older vocabularies.

It is not necessary to discuss the classical and Biblical names given in the Keronian glosses, as they are all slavish translations of the original lemmata, but glosses of *Aquilum* and *Afrigus* will suffice to illustrate the monumental ignorance, based on Isidore's philological madness, of the Germanic glossators. *Aquilum* is a confusion of *Aquilo* and *Aquilus,* hence is glossed "norduuint" and "suuarz," while *Afrigus* was taken by the glossator to be from *A* + *frigus* and is blandly translated by *urfrost.*

OHG. *quēdan.*

We have the following important entries in the Latin glossaries in Goetz:

Inquam dico, dixi, *Vat.* 3321, IV. 97.

Inquis dicis

Inquid dicit, dixit

Inquiunt dicunt

Inquiens dicens

Inquimus dicimus

Inquisti dixisti

Inquio dico, *Sang.* 912, IV. 250.

Inquam dixi

Inquam dixi, *Abav.,* IV. 355.

Inquis dixisti

Inquit dixit

Inquiunt dicunt

Ego *inquam* ego dicam, *Aff.*, IV. 513.

Ego *inquid* ego dico

Inquitis dicitis, *Aff.*, IV. 530.

Inquid dixit

Inquitis dicitis, *Amp. II*, V. 302.

Inquis dicis, *Amp. II*, V. 303.

Ego *inquam* ego dicam *Amp. II*, V. 288.

Ego *inquit* ego dico

Inquimus dicimus, *Gloss.*, V. 212.

Inquis dicis

Inquisti dixisti

Inquiunt dicunt

Inquiberunt dixerunt

Inquies dicis, *Vat.* 1471, V. 535.

Inquam dixi, *Cass.* 90, V. 570.

Inquio dico, loquor, *Ab. M.*, V. 629.

Inquiunt dicunt, aiunt.

It will be observed that the older glosses give the correct forms and meaning, while *Abav.*, *Sang.*, and *Vat.* 3321 give *inquam* "dixi" and similar confusions of tense, whereas *Aff.* and *Amp. II* have the significant "ego *inquid* ego dico," in which *inquid* is taken to mean "I say." If we turn to the Keronian glosses, we at once see how these Latin blunders become imbedded in the OHGerman. We have:

		Pa.	Gl. K.	Ra.
P. 32.	Ego inquid	*ih hquad*	*ih qhuad*	
	Ego dixi	*ih quidu*		
P. 34.	Ait	*quad*	*qhvad*	*chuad*
	dicit	*quidit*	*qhuidhit*	
	canit, fatur			
P. 180.	Inqua,-am	*in diu*	*ih chuat*	*ih chuad*
	dixi	*quad*		

The lemma "ait, dicit, canit, fatur" is taken out of *Aff.* (IV. 481), where we also find the lemma "ego inquid, ego dixi," while "inquam dixi" is in *Vat.* 3321. We can dismiss *in diu* of *Pa.*, which is a clumsy blunder, the glossator having read the lemma as "in qua." As *inquid* of the Latin glosses is "dicit, dixit," whereas *ego inquit* is "ego dico," it is not possible to say with certainty whether *ih hquad* means "I say" or "I said," but that the former is more likely is shown by the *ih quidu,* which appears as the gloss of "ego dixi." There cannot be the slightest doubt that the German words are corruptions of Lat. *inquid,* and it can be shown in what manner these were formed.

It is noteworthy that the early Anglo-Saxon vocabularies do not a single time record *cweđan* or any derivatives from it, whereas, by the side of the verb, the Keronian glosses record "ueredicus *uuarqueto*" (*SS.* I, 263), "preuata *furichuiti*" (226), "abdicat *farchuidhit*" (22-23), while elsewhere the derivatives are extremely popular. We meet the word for the first time in the Kentish Glosses "in sententia on *cwide*" (Wülcker, p. 70), "sententias *cwidas*" (82), and it is again significant that this nominal use is particularly frequent in OHGerman. We have in the Keronian glosses "dictio *quiti*" (*SS.* I, 90). "sententia *quiti*" (263), and the curious "eolilogi uersicoli *quiti*" (128).

What is *eolilogi?* This we learn from the Latin glosses. Isidore has "allegoria est *alieniloquium.* aliud enim sonat. et aliud intellegitur" (I. 37. 22) and "allegoriae vis gemina est et sub res alias aliud figuraliter indicat" (I. 37. 26). The first of these found its way into the *Abavus* glossary as "allegoris similitudo uel *alienoquium*" (IV. 307). From here, or from a source from which the *Abavus* got it, we get the lemma of the Keronian glosses (p. 48) :

	Pa.	Gl. K.
Allegoriam	spelpauhan	spelpatih
aliut	ander *qḍạt*	andher *quidit*
pro aliut	ander	andher rechit

This *quidit* is, no doubt, the translation of Isidore's "sonat" in the first quotation, but *alieniloquium,* which produced "eolilogi *quiti,*" through the abbreviated form of *Abav., alienoquium,* appeared as *alieno* + *quium,* the latter being taken as a noun from *inquio,* "I say," giving rise to a participial form *quitum,* which found its way into OHGerman and Anglo-Saxon. But the original mistake was made by taking *inquid* to mean "that which gives a correspondence," hence we have very frequently in Notker and Otfrid *inquad.*[25] But one needs only look at Notker's translation of Boetius, in order to convince oneself that *quad* or *chad* is not a word meaning "to speak," but the rendering of *inquam* or *inquit,* which occurs innumerable times,[26] with a present, and not past, meaning. It is, therefore, clear that a mere spirit of normalisation has produced the strong OHG. *quēdan,* Goth. *qiþan,* which could not have taken place before the eighth century, after the appearance of the Germanic vocabularies. But the verb remained essentially a book word, like Lat. *inquit,*

25 "Thaz sungun io zi nōti thie fordorun liuti, thaz selba ingegin ouh *inquad* thiu aftera heriscaf," Otfrid, IV. 4. 56; "thaz selba, thaz thie sungun, thie thārfora giangun, thaz selba *inquad,* in uuara, thiu aftera fuara." Otfrid, IV. 5. 62.

26 "At hereant *inquam* precor, háftēn mūozīn sie *chád íh,*" P. Piper, *Die Schriften Notkers und seiner Schule,* Freiburg I. B. u. Tuebingen 1882, vol. I, p. 81; "tum ego scis *inquam,* tū uuéist uuóla *chád íh,*" p. 109; "quo *inquit* habitet ita considera, uuār iz sī *chád* si dáz chíus tír sús," p. 181; "sed queso *inquit* te, nū bíto íh tíh *chád* si," p. 185; "assentior *inquam,* ih iího is *chád íh,*" p. 196, etc., etc.

and, in spite of its free use in all the Germanic languages, has completely disappeared from all of them as a popular word.

OHG. *hīwjan.*

In the Anglo-Saxon laws we frequently find *hiwan, hiwen, hiue, hiwisc* "household, hide of land," *hieved* "household, chapter of a convent," *hiernes* "parish," *hid* "hide of land.[27] As these words occur already in Withraed's *Inscriptio,* which is supposed to be of the years 695-696, but which is not an original manuscript, it would seem that the words were very old in Anglo-Saxon, and certainly of proto-Germanic origin. In Anglo-Saxon charters the words first appear in 867.[28] In OHGerman we meet the words *hīwjan* "to marry," *hīwī* "marriage, matrimony," *hīwo* "husband," *hīwunga* "marriage, household," *hiwiski* "family, home," in Gothic *heiueafrauja* "master of the house," in ONorse *hjú, hjón* "married people, household." Obviously "married" is the underlying meaning in all these words.

In the Keronian glosses we have the following entries:

	Pa.	Gl. K.	Ra.
P. 56. Bigamus qui duas habuit (habet) uxores	*zuiro hiuuit* der zua habet q; nun	*quiro hiuuid* ther zuua habet quinun	*zuiro giuuit*
P. 60. Domesticum bellum	*hiuuisclíh*	*hiuuisclih* kifeht	*hiuuiscli* feht
P. 142. Domesticus	follaciuc *hiuuiskes*	*hiuuiskes*	
P. 192. Domesticum	*hiuisclih*	*huiusclih*	*hiuuisclih*

[27] See F. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen,* Halle a. S. 1898-1906, in Vocabulary.

[28] J. Earle, *A Hand-Book to the Land-Charters, and other Saxonic Documents,* Oxford 1888, p. 457 ff.

Only the first one needs consideration, for *hiuuischlih, hiuuiskes* are merely adjectives formed from a noun meaning "familia," derived from the participle *hiuuit* "married." The lemma is found in many Latin glosses:

Bigamus secunde uxoris maritus, *Vat.* 3321, IV. 25, *Aff.,* IV. 488, *AA.,* V. 443.
Bigamus qui secundo nubat, *Amp. II,* V. 271.
Bicamus qui duas *habuit* uel *hauit* oxores, *Sang.* 912, IV. 211.
Bicamus qui duas *habet* uxores, *Amb.,* IV. 586.
Bigamus qui duas uxores *habet, Abac.,* IV. 601.
Bigamus qui secundam *habet* uxorem, *Ab. M.,* IV. 592.

The glossator apparently read *hauit* of *Sang.* 912, which was written with an open *a,* as *huuit* or *hiiuit,* and assumed this to be identical with "maritus" and "nubat" of the other glosses. Thus arose *zuuiro hiuuit* "twice married." From this was formed the noun *hiun* "matrimonium"[29] and all the other OHGerman words. It is evident that the Anglo-Saxon glosses followed slavishly the OHGerman glosses, adding a number of new derivatives from them. The words remained essentially book words, and in English not one of them, except *hide,* on account of its reference to a land division, has survived. In German all but one have died out. OHG. *hīrāt* "marriage" occurs only from the 11. century on, but it has survived in Ger. *heirat.* The origin of the suffix *rāt* is hard to explain, even as it is difficult to account for AS. *hīrēd, hīwrāed* "household." Possibly the following is the origin of the word. We have in the *Corpus* and *Epinal Glossaries* "verna *higre.*" This arose from the gloss "verna *uecarius*" in *Vat. 3321,* itself obviously a blunder, since

[29] *SS.,* vol. I, p. 284.

a few lines before we have the correct "verna *vernaculus* seruus in domo natus." From the confusion of *uecarius* and *hīw* arose the form *higre,* which seems to have suggested *higrēd, hīrēd* "the whole household." A similar confusion may have led in OHGerman to *hīrāt* "marriage."

OHG. *anst.*

In the Keronian glosses we find:

Pp. 136 & 160.	Gratia	*anst.*
P. 200.	Iohannes	ioh.
	gratia dei	kepandi *anst* anti huldi kotes.

In other glosses we get *unnan, gaunnan* "to favor," *unst* "favor," from which comes Ger. *Gunst,* and a considerable number of derivatives. The Gothic has *anst* "favor, mercy," *ansteigs* "favorable." The noun is also found as ONorse *āst,* AS. *ēst,* and we have the verbs ONorse, OSwed. *unna,* AS. *unnan,* all with the preterit *ann,* although the OHG. *unnan* has the preterit *onda, onsta.* The origin of this Germanic word is at once obvious from the Latin lemmata,

Anna gratia, *Vat.* 3321, IV. 17,
Anna gratia filio dei, *Amp. I,* V. 340,
Iohannes domini gratia, *Sang.* 912, IV. 248,

which go back, among others, to Jerome's
Anna gratia ejus, [30]
Joannes in quo est gratia, vel Domini gratia. [31]

The Hebrew words *anna,* and the Latinized (Jo)*annes* were taken to be Germanic (ignotum pro magnifico) and produced OHG. *unnan, anst.* The word remained a book word, and has survived only in the Ger. *Gunst.*

[30] Lagarde, *Onomastica sacra,* 34. 11, 64. 4.
[31] *Ibid.,* 69. 11, 65. 1, 76. 19.

OHG. *sper.*

The Keronian gloss

P. 144. Falarica suuuinspeoz
lancia *sper*
magna mihil
quod est teli
maximi

has for its lemma

Falaria lancea magna uel genus teli magni, *Sang.* 912, IV. 236, which is represented in somewhat changed forms in all the mediaeval glosses. It would seem most likely that OHG. *sper* is related to or derived from Lat. *sparus,* especially since the later glosses distinctly relate the two. The *Glossae Salomonis* have "Sparum est rusticum telum in modum pedi recuruum *sper,*"[32] but this gloss is merely Servius' scholium and does not help in identifying the OHGerman word. Indeed, "sparus" is persistently glossed in the Latin vocabularies as a small weapon, a dagger, a club, whereas the OHG. *sper,* like the Eng. *spear,* is a long missile weapon. The Lat. *sparus* is itself of unknown origin, and is most likely a Semitic word, related to Aram. סַפַּר *sapar* "to cut the hair." In any case it cannot be adduced as the origin of OHG. *sper.*

We have the Sr. σφαῖρα glosses, among others,
Sphera pila ingens, *Vat.* 3321, IV. 175.
Spera pila ingens, *Sang.* 912, IV. 284, *Amp. II,* V. 333.
Spera pila inguens, *Abav.,* IV. 392.

Here "pila" means "ball," as may be seen from the other glosses,[33] but unfortunately most glosses confuse *pilum*

[32] *SS.*, vol. IV, p. 98.
[33] Goetz, sub *pila.*

and *pila,* hence we get

Pila genus telorum uel rotunditas uel columna, *Abav.,* IV. 377,

Pila asta, *Vat.* 3321, IV. 143, *Aff.,* IV. 553, *Plac. P.,* V. 133, etc.

This confusion caused the glossator to take *spera* in the sense of "spear," whence the word.

OHG. *khunawith.*

The Keronian glosses have:

	Gl. K.	Ra.
P. 204. Laqueari		
(Lauconie)	strikhi	stricki
catena	*khunauuithi*	*chunuuidi*
auria	falla	
Loconie	*uuithi*	
catene	*khunauuithi*	

It will require a considerable amount of reconstruction before the various blunders contained in these glosses are made clear. Kögel has already shown that an interlinear translation preceded the alphabetical glosses.[34] This is proved conclusively in the present case, as will soon be seen.

The mediaeval Latin glosses have, among others,

Laquearia catenę aureę uel camere aut ornamenta uel decipulę, *Vat.* 1468, V. 505,

where "decipulę" is from mistaking the lemma as identical with "laqueus." We have also the very frequent identification of "lacunaria" with "laquearia:"

Laquearia sunt quae cameram subtegunt et ornant, quae et *lacunaria* dicuntur, Isidore, XIX. 12, etc.

The interlinear gloss evidently ran as follows:

cunaria strikki falla
Laquearia catena aurea decipula,

[34] *Op. cit.,* p. XIX ff.

that is, "laquearia" was corrected to "(la)cunaria," and the Germanic glosses were written, not exactly over the corresponding words, but a little to the right. From this arose two different glosses, namely, "loconie catene" and the first OHGerman line as a gloss to "laquearia," in which case (la)*cunaria* was read as *cunavid,* supposedly a gloss to "catena." As "strikki" was taken to be identical with "catena" and *vid* in *cunavid,* we find it as a gloss to "laqueari," while the gloss to "loconie" is *uuithi.*

We have Arab. قِيد *qīḍa* "he had shackles put upon his forelegs," قَيد *qaiḍ* "a shackle, fetter, pair of shackles for the forelegs of a beast, generally made of rope, but some are of iron, anything that binds one part of a thing to another," قِياد *qiyād* "a leading rope for a beast of carriage." This group is apparently not to be separated from قَاد *qāḍā* "he led," قَود *qauḍ* "horse, a number of horses together, horses led by their leading-ropes," قَوود *qawūḍ* "tractable." The Romance languages have preserved from the latter a large number of words. In LLatin we have *guidare, guiare* "to lead away as a prisoner, to keep as a pledge, to furnish safe conduct,"[35] OProv. *guidar, guiar, guizar* "to lead, put in order, accompany, give safe conduct," OFr. *guider* "to accompany, direct," *guidon* "standard, sign for direction," *guides* "reins," etc.

In reality, Arab. قِيد is not originally Semitic. It is represented only sporadically in Syr. *qaudâ* "fetter, the stocks," and not at all in the other languages. I think it is merely an abbreviated form of the more common Aram. כְּדַן *kādan,* Arab. *kadana,* Syr. *kdan* "to tie, unite," which are in all probability from Lat. *catena.* But

[35] See the abundant quotations in Ducange, sub *guida.*

the Arab. قيد has spread back again over a large territory. In addition to the Arabic form, we find in Turkish and Persian قيطان , غيطان *gaitān, qaitān* "cord, rope," which has entered the Greek as γαϊτάνιον, γάϊτανι "cord, ribbon," thence into Russian as *gaytan,* Cro. *gajtan,* Pol. *kajdany,* originally "cord," but generally "fetters, chains," hence Russ. *kandaly* "chains."

In Gothic *qaiḍ, qauḍ* has produced *gawidan* "to bind," which is represented only in OHG. *kawetan* "to unite," *kiwet* "yoke, pair." OHG. *witta* "hairband" is, no doubt, directly derived from Lat. *vitta* and must be kept separate from this Arabic word. In OHGerman the form *wetan* is not used, except once in *intwetanter* "abjungens." In Gothic, as usual, *ga* was considered a prefix, and from *gawidan* "to unite," *gawiss* "union, joint" were formed *uswiss* "separated, vain," *diswiss* "disunion." It is far-fetched to invoke Sansk. *vivadha* "shoulderyoke" as related to these words, because the underlying meaning seems to be "to carry" and the word stands perfectly alone, while the Arabic words invariably refer to "a pair, a number, taken together."

Vid, borrowed from Arabic, already existed in the Germanic and Romance languages, hence it was natural enough to misread—*ria* for —*vid,* for *r* and *v, a* and *d* are frequently confounded. The glossator could make nothing of *cunavid,* and so the word entered, in OHGerman, as the correspondent of "catena." In Anglo-Saxon *cynewiðde* is given as a translation of "redimiculum, gold band, crown," which proves that it had its origin in the same scholium for "laquear," which is glossed not only "catena aurea," but also "corona."

> *Lacunaria* auratis camerae, *lancunaria* pendentia luminaria, *laquearia* ornamenta tectorum, *laquearia* candela auria aut corona, *Aff.,* IV. 532.

To the accumulated Latin blunders, which identified "laquear" with "corona" and with "decipula," the German glossator added one of his own creation. He was acquainted with the Latin gloss

Fallam decipiam, *Vat.* 1471, V. 534, etc.

and so made for "decipula" the corresponding *falla,* which became a German gloss.

This book was all written when a belated inspection of the *lacunaria* words revealed a number of new data which confirm the correctness of my assumption. According to Servius there was also a form *lacuaria,*[36] while *Aff.* and *Vat. 3321* have *lancunaria.* It can now be seen how the *cunavid* words arose. Over *lacuaria* there was a line to indicate the *n* of *lacunaria.* Some read *lacuaria,* others *lancuaria, lancunaria,* in addition to *lacunaria.* Just as *cuaria* produced OHG. *khunawith,* so *lacuaria* produced *lancuuid* "carpentum" of the Keronian glosses. There seems to be a long cry from "chain" to "wagon," but the transformation is easily explained.

Jerome glosses[37] Isaiah V. 18, "vae, qui trabitis iniquitatem in funiculis vanitatis, et quasi vinculum plaustri peccatum," by saying that for *vinculum plaustri* the Septuagint wrote "corrigiam jugi vitulae," and goes on to explain at great length what is meant by the ropes which the sinners drag along. Obviously "vinculum plaustri" was somewhere glossed by *lacuaria,* which was read as *lancuuid.* This is proved beyond a shadow of a doubt by the gloss "uinculum plaustri *lanc vuid,*" found in a large number of Isaiah glosses,[38] where the Keronian glossators

[36] H. Nettleship, *Contributions to Latin Lexicography,* Oxford 1889, p. 514.

[37] Migne, vol. XXIV, col. 85.

[38] *SS.*, vol. I, p. 598.

thought that *lanc vuid* referred to "plaustri," and wrote absurdly "carpentum *lancuid*." Later glossators explained to their own satisfaction "vinculum plaustri" as "a wagon-pole" and wrote "temo *lancuuit*," which proves, again beyond a shadow of a doubt, that *lancuid*, like *khunawith*, is a ghost word.

OHG. *himil*.

Cunavid came into disuse, because a different explanation was given to *laquear* and *lacunar*, with an entirely different German gloss. Bede described the *laquearia* mentioned in III *Reg.* VI. 9 as panels on beams decorated with beautiful pictures. He had in mind the flat roofs of Egypt, from which one could preach to the populace below, and the panels referred to the railing which surrounded the roof.[39] One OHGerman glossator, who, with the writer of the Hrabanian glosses, drew probably from an older source than did the Keronian glossary,[40] writes

> Laquearia sunt que cameram subtegunt et ornant que et lacunaria dicuntur pro quibus nos de ligno tabulas pingimus et *himil* nuncupamus, *SS.*, vol. I, p. 283.

We have already seen that the first part of the gloss is from Isidore, but "for which we paint wood-panels and call *himil*" is similarly from Isidore. The passage from Isidore already quoted continues:

[39] "Laquearia sunt tabulata, quae supposita trabibus, affiguntur clavis, decoremque picturae suae solent exspectantibus praemonstrare mirandum.... Non enim in Palaestina, sicut nec in Aegypto, culmina in tectis habentur, sed plana potius tecta domorum, ad sedendum videlicet, vel deambulandum apta construuntur.... Talis namque locus aptissimus est, de quo verbum praedicatur, vel assidentibus sibi, vel inferius positis auditoribus proferat.... Hoc etenim tabulatum in extrema summitate murorum templi vice cancellorum erat erectum, ne quis ad superiora conscendens, dum ad terminum tecti perveniret, incaute progrediendo dilaberetur ad ima," Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. XCI, col. 722 f.

[40] *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, vol. XXVI, p. 326 ff.

quod lacus quosdam quadratos vel rotundos ligno vel gypso vel coloribus habeat pictos cum signis intermicantibus,

where he mentions the paintings and apparently wood-carvings. To explain the origin of *himil* we must first study the other glosses for *laquear*.

We have

Laquearia caelum in domo, *Amp. II*, V. 306,

Laquearia tabulae sub trabilibus, *Amp. I*, V. 368,

which are in full agreement with Bede's definition. The Graeco-Latin glosses give σανίδωμα as an equivalent for *tabulatum*, but σανίδωμα is generally rendered by *pulpitum*, that is, a *tabulatum* is understood to be the paneling of a pulpit, and, as *pulpitum* is glossed by

Gradus in quo lector stat, *Amp. I*, V. 381,

it is clear that the *ambo*, which is meant by it, was to a certain extent an imitation of the *laquear* in Solomon's temple.[41] The elevation from which an action took place, whether in the theater or in the church, was known in Greek as θυμέλη, hence Isidore says

Et dicti thymelici quod olim in orchestra stantes cantabant super pulpitum, quod *thymele* vocabatur, XVIII. 47.

Hence the end of the OHGerman gloss is a corruption of

Et *thimele* noncupamus.

The *t* of *thimele* dropped out on account of the preceding *et* with which it coalesced, and the Germanic gloss *himil* resulted from it.

The Bible glosses, for the most part, gloss "laquearia" with *himilice*, *himiliza*,[42] an inexplicable lengthening, but which in reality is the result of a series of blunders. The caption of the passage from Isidore reads *De thymelicis*. This is found in the horribly corrupted form *deigimali* in

41 See F. Arevalo, *M. Aurelii Clementis Prudenti Carmina*, Romae 1789, vol. II, p. 1186.

42 *SS.*, vol. I, pp. 429, 434, 443, 549, 630, etc. See Graff, sub *himilizi*.

one of the Prudentius glosses of "laquearia."[43] Other Prudentius glosses read *gimālin,*[44] *gemaelen, gemaleden,*[45] *himilez,*[46] so that it is quite clear that the Prudentius glossators read *de thymelicis* as *deigimelicis,* and proceeded to abbreviate the word as much as possible, now in the direction of *mālon* "to paint," now independently of it. Thus arose OHG. *himiliza* and *himil.* Indeed, the form *thimelice* is already given as a translation of "pluteus," which means "pulpit," in a Graeco-Latin gloss.[47] In the Keronian glosses *himil* is exclusively the translation of "caelum," because the usual gloss for "laquear" is "caelum templi," but this is subsequent to the Prudentius glosses, hence the original Prudentius gloss must have preceded the writing of the Keronian gloss.

The all-powerful influence of the Germanic glossaries upon the formation of the literary norms of the Germanic languages is well illustrated in this case. The OHG. *himiliza* has entered into the northern dialects with a retrogressive change of the last consonant, hence MLG. *hēmelte,* MDutch *verhemelte* "canopy." In Gothic *himil* became *himins,* while ONorse produced *himenn,* which in the dative *hifne* shows how there arose OSax. *heban,* AS. *hcofon,* but the last is not recorded in the early vocabularies.

OHG. *rahha.*

The Biblical *raca,* glossed by Jerome as "vanus,"[48] found its way into *Sang. 912* as "*racha,* inanis, uacuus, uanus" (IV. 278), even as it got into the ancient Latin-

[43] *SS.*, vol. II, p. 439.
[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 441, 444.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 507.
[46] *Ibid.*, p. 444.
[47] Goetz, vol. II, col. 512.
[48] *Onom. sac.*, 63. 3.

Arabic glossary[49] as "*raca* uanus uel inanis رقيع *raqiʿ*." The Keronian glossary translates *racha* by "iruuortani, umpidarpeo, unuuiso,"[50] which shows that, besides having the connotation "unwise," it had also that of "given to wordiness." *Racha,* however, appears as the Germanic equivalent for *nenias,*[51] where the Hrabanian gloss has "vanitates," because *nenias* is, among other renderings, glossed by "fabulae uanae, uanae res, deleramenta, res superuacuas, mendacium, superfluas loquacitates, uilissimas fabulas," while *nenior* is glossed as "uana loquor," and *neniosus* "garrulus, nugax." Hence the Keronian glosses also have "fabulas *racha*" (I. 142), "lepos *rahha*" (I. 202), "fabolosi *rachonti*" (I. 138), "ficolus (simulator) *raha*" (I. 156).

It must be observed here that the unchanged *racha* has the meaning of both "fib" and "fibber," so that the derivation from the lemma "*raca* vanus" is placed beyond all doubt. As *lepos* is glossed by "suavitas, urbanitas, blandities, sermo subtilis uel lenis," it becomes clear that "eloquence" was one of the "vain things" which immediately evolved from the word. Hence we get in Otfrid *rahtōn* "enunciate, declare, expound," *reku* "expound, explain, think out, accomplish, obtain," *irreku* "expound, explain, reach out, stir up," and *rahha* "affair, matter," but usually "mysterious, superb, strange matter." This reference to expounding difficult or strange matters is already found in the Keronian glosses, where we have "adtestator *racharі*" (I. 40), "stipulator *rahchondi*" (I. 252), "citatus (agilis in lingua) *rachendi*" (I.66), "agit (inquis) *rachot*" (I. 180), "apologia *antrahha*" (I. 48), "storia (conscribens) *kirekhitha*" (I. 253), "enarrare *kiregen, kireken*"

49 Ch. F. Seybold, *Glossarium latino-arabicum*, Berolini 1900, p. 429.
50 *SS.*, vol. I, p. 238.
51 *SS.*, vol. I, p. 215.

(I. 136), "exciti *arrachte*" (I. 134), "interpretat *carechit*" (I. 102), and, by a stupidly close translation, "multifarie *manakem rahhom*" (I. 208).

Similarly we have AS. *racu* "an exposition, explanation, orderly account, history, comedy, reckoning," *reccan* "to explain, interpret, unfold the meaning, recite, tell, unravel a difficult case, guide, rule, direct, stretch out, hold out to another, give," *reccere* "speaker, rhetorician, ruler, director," OSax. *raka* "affair, accounting," *rekkian* "to tell, narrate," ONorse *rekja* "to trace, expose, spread out."

It would seem that in the sense of "stretch out" we may have a different stem, one related to Lat. *regere*, Gr. ὀρέγνυμι, but that is at once made impossible from the fact that this sense is totally absent in OSaxon, while in Anglo-Saxon the whole group is not represented in any early vocabularies. In OHGerman, too, the Keronian glosses know of no meaning "to extend." It is only incidentally in Otfrid that the idea "expandere, to expand (the meaning)" leads to "extendere," while Notker is the first to use "*rechjan* extendere," "*gareichjan* pertingere." But the Gothic has not at all the connotation "to expound, speak" for this group. On the other hand, *rahnjan* "to reckon, consider," *rahton* "to offer," *rikan* "to heap up," *ufrakjan* "to stretch" are irregular in formation, and seem to indicate a confusion with *raihts* "right, orderly." To Goth. *rahnjan* corresponds OHG. *rechenen* "regere, rationem parare, disponere," which is not found in the Keronian glosses and seems to betray the same relation to a root from which comes Goth. *raihts*. It is, therefore, most likely that only in *afrakjan* was Gothic affected by the newly developing meaning from *raca* in OHGerman, but that otherwise it did not possess or failed to use derivatives from this Biblical *raca*.

The OHGerman and Anglo-Saxon words were distinctly bookwords and failed to take root in the languages, ex-

cept in the sense "to reach out," which tardily developed in both of them, apparently from an OHGerman precedent. The Slavic languages, which borrowed their extremely rich group of *rek-* words from the same OHGerman at an early time, have preserved the original meaning up to the present. Here we again see how the meaning "thing" developed out of "word." In OBulgarian we have *rešti*, i. e., *rek-ti* "to speak" and *rěčí* "word, sound, speech, conversation, sentence, question, affair, accusation, testimony, matter, thing," hence *rokŭ* "rule, fate, number, measure, year," and this shows that the Gothic words are derived in the same way from the little used "speak" words as are the Slavic words. The Lithuanian has similarly *rēkiu, rekti* "to cry."

OHG. *claga* and *sise*.

Beginning with the 11. century, *nenia* is glossed in OHGerman by *clagesanc,*[52] but we get earlier *claga* "luctus," *clagara* "lamentatrix," etc.; but none of these words occurs as early as the Keronian glosses. It is interesting to follow up the history of these unique words in German.

Jerome explained Matthew IX. 23, "Et cum venisset Jesus in domum principis: et vidisset *tibicines,* et turbam tumultuantem, dicebat," by "Usque hodie jacet in domo principis mortua, et qui videntur magistri *tibicines sunt, carmen lububre canentes.*"[53] Paschasius expanded the last sentence thus: "Solet igitur in tibiis lugubre carmen ad vigilias, et cantilenae personare mortuorum, ut corda torpentium excitent ad lamenta."[54] If we add to this Isidore's "Praeceptum enim fuerat Iudaeis ut in initio novae lunae *tuba clangerent,* quod etiam et hucusque faciunt" (III. 21. 3), and the confusion between *tibicen* and *tubicen*. "*tubicines* tuba seu tibia canentes," *AA.*, V. 487, "*tibites*

52 *SS.*, vol. IV, p. 81.
53 Migne, vol. XXVI, col. 58.
54 *Ibid.*, vol. CXX, col. 386.

tibicines idest tybie canentes," *ibid.*, p. 486, we at once see that "*Titiensis* clangor id est sonitus cum tumultu," *Abs.*, IV. 424, "*titiensis* clangor," *AA.*, V. 486, "*titienses* clangor," *Vat.* 1469, V. 526, are all blunders for the gloss of *tibicen*, confused with *tubicen*, and followed by the passage in Matthew IX. 23, "et turbam tumultuantem." This is shown to be the case, beyond the shadow of a doubt, by the more correct lemma in three manuscripts of *Abs.*, namely *tibiciensis, tibicines.*

That *tibicines* was also in the OHGerman glosses is proved by the 9. century "*tibicines* tibia carmen lugubre canentes *siue* sanc, *siue* suegelara," later "*sisesang*" (*SS.* I. 711). To explain the OHG. *siue*, *sisc*, it is necessary to observe a certain number of the lemmata and glosses for *tibia*. We have

Tiuia zigia ad coniugendo dicta, *Vat. 3321*, IV. 184,
Tybigines *abies* continens uel qui tybia canunt, *Sang. 912*, IV. 292,
Tiuices qui *tiuia* canunt, *Ab., IV.* 397,
Tyice tibiaecantus, *Glossae Vaticanae*, III. 523.

It is clear from the *Vat. 3321* and *Sang. 912* glosses that there was a reading *ciuia* for *tibia*, which produced *zigia* in one case, and, by reading *ci* as *a*, a common blunder, *abies* in the other. But the substitution of *siue* for *tibia* was due to the misconception of the 9. century glossator, as is quite clear from the punctuation. The gloss runs as follows:

Tibicines, *tibia* carmen. lugubre canentes.
siue sanc. *siue* suegelara,

that is, the glossator thought that "carmen" was one gloss, and "lugubre canentes" another. He read *tibie* as *siue*, and added another *siue* after "sanc." The next glossator, in the 11. century, wrote "siegaelara" after "tibicines" and, mistaking *siue* for part of "sang," and reading it *sise*, wrote *sisesang* after "canentes." The word is extremely rare in the glosses, and seems to have been entered

by later hands,[55] and is of interest only as occurring in the *Indiculus superstitionum,* where it is mentioned in the caption "De sacrilegio super defunctos id est *dadsisas.*"[56] It is obvious that the reference is to the singing of songs over the dead, for "Iberas naenias" of the lemma "Iberas naenias libris authenticis praeferunt" of Jerome's *Prologue* to the *Pentateuch*[57] is in several glossaries given as "spanisciugiposi,"[58] while a 10. century codex, *Codex Vindob. 2723,* has *sisuva* written over it in a later hand. It is a noteworthy fact that the Lat. *siue* occurs before the German words in another place, again in connection with "nenia," "nenias, mortiferos cantus, *siue* spani *siue* loterspracha" (*SS.* I. 299).

Nenia is often glossed by "carmen funebre," and Iso Magister, lumping together Isidore's "Threnos, quod Latine lamentum vocamus"(I. 39. 19), and the immediately following "epitaphium Graece, Latine supra tumulum, est enim titulus mortuorum, qui in dormitione eorum fit, qui iam defuncti sunt" (I. 39. 20), wrote, "naeniae vanitates sunt titulorum, quae adhibantur mortuis, quae nihil proficiunt."[59] Thus we see that the *Indiculus superstitionum* referred to an old pagan custom and not to any specific German superstition.

Now, just as *sisesang* is a ghost word and *raha* has arisen from a gloss to *raca,* so *clagesanc, claga, clagara* are all due to the gloss "titiensis *clangor,*" where the latter word was written *clāgor* and taken as a gloss to "tibicen, lamenter." Again a ghost word. Neither *sisesang* nor *claga* have reached any other Germanic language. They have remained as monuments to OHGerman philological acumen.

55 See *SS.*, vol. II, p. 559, vol. I, p. 304.
56 *MGH.*, *Capitularia*, vol. I, p. 223.
57 Migne, vol. XXVIII, col. 150.
58 *SS.*, vol. I, p. 304.
59 Arevalo, *op. cit.*, p. 368.

OHG. *giposi.*

Another gloss for "nenia" needs thorough investigation. We have "nenia *giposi, gipposi, gipuosi*" (*SS.* IV. 81), "nenias *gibosa*" (*SS.* II. 554), and very frequently *bosa, gebose,* etc., occur as translations of "nuga, nugator," etc.[60] All these are derived from the gloss to Jerome, "Hiberas nenias *spaniskivgiposi*" (*SS.* I. 304), which goes back at least to the tenth century.

This word is derived either from the Hebrew or the Arabic. We have Arab. بأس *bā's* "very evil," بؤس *bū's* "misfortune, calamity," represented in the Koran. It is, in the Hebrew form, an exceedingly common lemma and gloss in Jerome. We have

Buz despiciens siue contemnens, *Onomastica sacra,* 3. 21,

Buz, buzi despectus siue contemptus, *ibid.,* 53. 19, 57. 1, *buzites* contemptibilis, 59. 16,

Basan bruchus siue pinguedo. nam quod interpretari solet ignominia uel confusio, *busa* dicitur, *ibid.,* 16. 18,

Basan confusio siue pinguedo uel siccitas, *ibid.,* 45, 3.

We have in these glosses a confusion of two Hebrew words, of בָּשָׁן and of בּוּז. The fate of the first is most interesting. בָּשָׁן is the name of a fruitful valley, hence Jerome's identification of *basan* with "pinguedo." This word found its way into the "Interpretatio nominum ebraicorum et grecorum" of the *Corpus Glossary* as "*baasa* pinguido," and into a very large number of mediaeval glossaries as *baasa* and *bassus* glossed by "pinguis, obesus."[61] Jerome distinctly says that he translated βασανῖτις

[60] *SS.*, vol. I, p. 683, vol. II, pp. 414, 557, 574, 575, etc.

[61] In the light of Jerome's glosses all the discussion of *bassus* by Loewe in his *Padromus,* p. 66, and by all the other writers, is so much waste. *Bassus* never was a Latin word and is never recorded as such.

of the Septuagint by "vaccae pingues."[62] This led to the extremely funny Latin glosses about "milchcows," in which there is a cross with the Gr. βασσάριδες "Bacchantes":

Bassarides uaccae mulsariae, *Bantride* uaccae, *Sang. 912,* IV. 210,

Balsaride uacce mulsaris, *Abac.,* IV. 600,

Bascarides bacciae mulieres in molestia libri patri, *Amp. II,* V. 270,

Bassandes baccae, *Amp. I,* V. 348.

It was Origen who confused Heb בָּשָׁן with בּוּז *būz* "contempt, scorn," and explained *Basan* as "turpitudo."[63] St. Augustine accepted this etymology and added another, from Heb. יָבֵשׁ *yābēš* "dry,"[64] in his gloss to "Ex *Basan* convertam, convertam in profundum maris" of Psalm LXX. 20. Cassiodorus accepted the latter etymology, and explained *Basan* as meaning "the low, sterile place, caused by the recession of the sea."[65] Thus *bassus* assumed also the meaning "low," as which it is recorded in *Sang. 912* (IV. 210), and *Vat. 1468* (V. 492). St. Augustine rightly wrote *busa* in the sense of "shame, ignominy," which as

62 "Pro vaccis pinguibus, Septuaginta posuerunt *Basanitidis.* Aquila et Theodotio ipsum verbum Hebraicum *Basan;* nos Symmachi interpretationem secuti, qui ait, *αἱ βόες εὔτροφοι,* id est, boves saginatae, vaccas pingues interpretati sumus," *Commentarium in Amos,* lib. II, cap. IV, in Migne, vol. XXV, col. 1023.

63 "*Basan* interpretatur turpitudo: merito ergo me legati mittuntur ad istam gentem, nec transitus per terram ejus poscitur. Nullus enim nobis transitus debet esse, nullus accessus ad turpitudinem," *Homilia XIII in Numeros,* in Migne, *Patrologia graeca,* vol. XII, col. 669.

64 "*Basan* interpretatur confusio.... et siccitas," *Enarratio in Psalmum LXVII,* in Migne, vol. XXXVI, col. 832.

65 "Dixit Dominus: 'Ex *Basan* convertam: convertam de profundis

buzzi "despectus vel contentus" found its way into the *Cod. Cass. 90* (V. 563). In Italy this produced *bugia* "a lie" and in OHGerman *bosi* "nuga."

However, it is not certain that *bosi* came up from Italy, because this word spread over western Europe from Spain. There the Hieronymian gloss *busa* became confused with related Arab. بذ *badz* "slovenly, shabby, dishevelled, humble in appearance," بذي *badzi'* "foul, unseemly, obscene in tongue, evil in speech," بذا *badzā* "foul, unseemly, obscene speech or language." The Semitic words are related to, or, more likely, derived from Egypt. *betu* "what is forbidden, evil, sinful, abominable, faulty," found also in Coptic as *bote, boti* "abomination."

As a legal term the Semitic words entered into the mediaeval Latin of Spain and France and spread to the Germanic languages. In the Cortes of Barcelona of 1064 *bausia* is the usual name for "abominable crime, by one in a lower station."[66] We have even earlier references to

maris.' In hoc versu auctoritas nobis doctissimi Hieronymi absolute sequenda est, quia translatio ejus lucida cunctam nobis abrogat quaestionem.... *Basan* interpretatur siccitas, quae humanum genus possederat ariditate peccati. Sed eam Dominus convertit ad viriditatem suam....Adjecit 'convertam de profundis maris,' scilicet populos quos de mundi istius profundo liberavit," *Expositio in Psalterium LXVII*, in Migne, vol. LXX, col. 470.

66 Qui se sciente seniorem suum a manu uel a lingua occiderit, uel filium eius legitimum, vel adulteraverit eius uxorem vel tollerit ei suum castrum et non reddiderit ei siue penioramento, aut fecerit ei malum quod non possit ei redirigere nec emendare; per unum ex hiis si probatus fuerit, vel convictus, debet venire in manu senioris sui cum omnibus que per eum habuit, ad faciendum suam voluntatem, quia maxima *bausia* (*bauzia, baudia*) est," *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón y de Valencia y Principado de Cataluña*, Madrid 1896, vol. I, p. 19 f.

such abominable crimes in France.[67] Hence Span. *bauzador* "cheat," *embaucar* "to cheat," Cat. *bausia* "felony, treason," OProv. *bauzar* "to cheat," *bausios* "cheating," OFr. *boisdie, boidie, boedie, boḍie* "cheating, low trick," *boisier, bossier* "to cheat."

In Spain, but especially in the Provence, the Arab. بذ *badz,* particularly بذي *badzi'* "foul, unseemly, or obscene in tongue, lightwitted, weak, stupid, ignorant in behavior," produced a new series of words, under the influence of contaminations with بد *baḍḍa* "he parted his legs." But *baḍḍa* means not only "he parted his legs," but also "he separated, disunited, dispersed, or dissipated; he gave his equal share of the expenses for a journey; he was or became weary, tired, or fatigued." We have also بداد *baḍāḍ* "the going forth to encounter another in fight, or to single combat," while Alcalá translates بد *baḍḍa* by "gastar en mal, demasiado, to spend foolishly, in excess." It is easy enough to see that all these meanings evolve from the idea "to disperse." It can also be shown how بدى بده بدع بدا have all evolved from the same idea. Thus بدا *baḍā'a* "he attacked him separately, before attacking others," hence "he commenced it, originated, produced the thing," بداة *baḍ'āt* "a share, the best share," hence "the beginning or outward course of a military expedition;" and a Mohammedan tradition had it "that the Prophet

67 "*Bosians* in guerra Plastulfi nomine Renaldi, adversus eum stetit" (1006-1040), Ch. Métais, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye cardinale de la Trinité de Vendôme,* Paris 1893, vol. I. p. 96; also pp. 123, 124, 125. See also Ducange, sub *bausia.*

gave a fourth of the spoil when a troop went forth from the main body of the army and attacked a party of the enemy." Similarly بدع *baḍu'a* "he became superlative in his kind," بدّه *baḍḍahu* "he attributed to him, accused him of an innovation," بديهة *abḍahu* "he originated, devised, excogitated it, did it for the first time," ابدهه *baḍīhat* "suddenly, unpremeditated," بدا *baḍā* "it occurred to him, he desired to do such a thing."

The OProvençal has the richest collection of words from this group. We have *badar* "to open, yawn, languish," *badaillar* "sigh, yawn," *badelar* "lose the time in vain," *badan* "stupidity," *baet* "embarrassment, incertitude." In the case of *badoc* "stupid, foolish" we have a contamination with Arab. بيذق *baidzaq* "a pawn in the game of chess," from the Pers. *paidah* "footman." If *badelar* means "to lose time in vain," naturally *bada* would mean "long waiting," hence "sentinel," but it is more likely that we have here the Arab. بداد *baḍ'āt* "the beginning of a military expedition," or بداءه *baḍāḍ* "single combat," since LLat. *badalatius*, *badaluccus* are recorded in the sense of "skirmish," and *bada* for "watch, ambush," hence OProv. *badil* "watchtower."

The OFr. *bade* "frivolous thing, vanity, foolishness," (which in the 13. century entered the English language as *bad*), *en bades* "in vain," *beee* "opening, vain hope, waiting," and the Catalan and Italian words belonging here need not detain us. It is necessary, however, to show how Span. *badajo* "bell-clapper," *badajear* "to talk much" were formed. The several quotations in Ducange show that the *bada* was a watch kept in a belltower, and that the approach of the enemy was announced by the ringing

of bells, hence OProv. *badil* "watchtower" and Span. *badajo* "clapper of a bell."

The entrance of the *bad-* words into Gothic and OHGerman shows conclusively that the language of the Gothic Bible is that of the Goths of the Marca Hispanica or of the Provence. It is somewhat difficult to separate here the Arab. بذ *badz* from the بذ *baḍ* words. Goth. *bauđs* is the translation of Gr. κωφός "deaf" and μωρός "silly, stale," so that here we have more likely a direct derivative of OProv. *baudar, bauzar,* or, rather, of Arab. بذي *badzi'* "weak, stupid, ignorant, lightwitted." In Goth. *beidan* "to wait," *gabeidan* "to endure," *baidjan* "compel, urge," we may have a direct derivative of OProv. *badar* "to languish." This is seen more fully from the OHGerman. In the Keronian glosses *beitit* is several times given as the equivalent of "exigat, urgeat, conpulsa,"[68] while in the other sources *bītan, beitōn* means "to wait, expect." We have OSax. *bēdian* "to compel" and *bīdan* "to wait," and AS. *bīdan* "to remain, wait, endure," and *baedan* "to urge, compel."

The "wait" words are derived directly from the Arabic, but in the case of the "urge" words there is a double contamination, once with the group represented by Goth. *bidjan* "bid," and, in a more direct way, with that represented by Goth. *arbaiþs* "work."

Goth. *arbaiþs.*

The *Capitulare de villis* begins with a request that the men of towns serving directly the crown should not be impoverished, and that the judges should not presume to enslave the servants for themselves or compel them to do *corvadas.*[69] From Irminon's *Polyptyque* we learn that

[68] *SS.*, vol. I, pp. 93, 134, 269.

[69] "Ut non praesumant iudices nostram familiam in eorum servi-

these *corvadas* consisted in "the variable labor imposed upon the tenants for the benefit of the manor." [70]

In Coptic we have *χropi, korbi* "scythe, ploughshare," from Egypt. *χrpu* "sharp point." This Coptic word entered the Syriac as *krab* "he plowed," *kårūbå* "plowman," Aram. כְּרוּבָא *kĕrūbā* "acre," קְרָבָא *kĕrābā* "ploughing," כְּרַב *kĕrab* "he plowed." In Arabic *karb* not only means "to plough, furrow the field," but also "to tighten one's bonds, overburden with work, load an animal." We have here also, in Alcalá, كرب *kurb* "many strokes," and كربة *kurbat* "fatiga del anima, passion del cuerpo, trabajo par enojo," that is, "travail," and كرب *karab* "anguish, lamentation, sighing." It is, therefore, clear that the idea of "compulsory labor, corvée" was in France derived directly from the Arabic.

In the ninth century *curvada* was etymologized as *conrogata, corrogata,* hence *corrogata* and *curvada* alternate a large number of times in the *Polyptic of St. Remi.* [71] *Corrogata* was distinctly understood as "labor *corrogatus,* compelled, demanded labor." Hence the Goths etymologized Arab. *kurbat* as a derivative from the Goth. *bidjan* "to ask," or, rather, *baidjan* "to compel" and *arjan* "to plough," thus getting the perfectly correct connotation "to compel the ploughing," hence *arbaiþjan* "to work hard, suffer, struggle," *arbaiþs* "hard work, oppression." In the Keronian glosses we get similarly "*arapeid* tribu-

tium ponere, non *corvadas* non materia cedere nec aliud opus sibi facere cogant," *MGH., Capitularia,* vol. I, p. 83.

[70] B. Guérard, *Polyptyque de l'abbé Irminon,* Paris 1844, vol. I, p. 647.

[71] B. Guérard, *Polyptyque de l'abbaye de Saint-Remi de Reims,* Paris 1853, p. XXXII.

latio" (*SS.* I. 52, 259), "thuruh *arapeit* permolestum" (*SS.* I. 255), "*arapait* labor" (*SS.* I. 104, 178). The Germans had difficulty in keeping *bittan* "to bid" and *arbeitjan* "to work" apart, so that we not only have *arpitit* "obsecrat" (182), "litat" (200), "explorat" (120), "expetit" (130), "proposcit" (230), "exposcit urguet" (138), but also *araerpetot* "implorat" (182), "exposcit" (130). Thus the "compel," "wait," and "ask" words became hopelessly mixed in OHGerman.

The Slavic languages show the identity of the *beid-* and *arbeit-* words in their borrowings from the German. Apparently the Slavic languages received these words in the formative period, and so have preserved even better the original meanings. We have OBulg. *bēda* "necessitas, periculum," *bēditi* "to force," Pol. *biada* "woe," etc., and OBulg. *rabota* "servitus," with its back-formation *rabŭ* "serf," and the large number of derivatives in the other Slavic languages. In Anglo-Saxon we get early *earbeð* "negotium," *earbetlicust* "molestissimum," *earbedlicae, earfedlice* "aegre," but the English has completely lost the words, which are all borrowed from the OHGerman. Similarly, ONorse *erfiði, erviði* "toil, labor, distress, suffering" are borrowings, most likely from the Anglo-Saxon.

OHG. *noz.*

Servius' gloss to the *Aeneid* I. 435 *ignavum* reads "*inutile,* non aptum industriae; nam industrios navos dicimus," and to *pecus* reads "dicimus omne quod humana lingua et effigie caret." In the Latin glosses *ignavus* is rendered by "inscius, piger, tardus," but also by *inutilis* (*Aff.,* IV. 525, *Vat. 1471,* V. 535), and the phrase "ignavum pecus" naturally occurs in the Vergilian glosses (IV. 445). In one of the several unpublished Servius glosses

with interlinear Germanic glosses there unquestionably was an interlinear gloss

inutile animal
ignavum pecus.

The glossators had their dear time with this *inutile*. They took it for a gloss of "pecus," hence we have OSax. *nōtilu* as the gloss to Prudentius, *Peristeph.* X. 333, "iumenta, pecudes, subiugales belluas."[72] In the Keronian glosses we have (*SS.* I. 134):

Pa.		Gl. K.
Erudi	calaerit	
animal	mōthaft	moathaft in anthareru stati nozzili kimennit ist
animal		edho noz

I cannot locate the lemma, but from the fact that *animal* is an obvious blunder for *animosus*, it is not impossible that *erudi* is not an abbreviation for *eruditus*, but a blunder for *iracundus*, since a similar blunder, *iucundus*, is given as a gloss of *animosus* in the *Glossae nominum* (Goetz, II. 566). But the glossator of *Gl. K.* had in mind the Servius gloss where *inutile* stood next to *animal*, and so said that in another place it was *nozzili* or *noz*, that is, the equivalent of "animal." What led him to this juxtaposition was that he took *erudi* for *eruditus*, and hopelessly mixed up *ignavus* with *gnavus*, which latter is really glossed by "sapiens," and so blundered all around. We shall soon see how the Anglo-Saxon glossators blundered in a similar manner. Other OHGerman glossators read *inutilis* as *innutilis*, made of it an OHG. *unnuzlich*, more commonly *unnuzzi*, and put the latter as a regular gloss to *ignavus* in Vergil, *Georg.* I. 299, II. 208, IV. 168, 259.[73]

[72] E. Wadstein, *Kleinere altsächsische Sprachdenkmäler*, Norden and Leipzig 1899, p. 95.

[73] See Graff, sub *unnuzi*.

Only as such did it survive in German as a translation of "ignavus," while OHG. *noz, nozzili* "animals," found as *noz* and *noezel* in MHGerman, has only sporadically survived in Ger. *nosz* "small animal."

Far more interesting is the case in Anglo-Saxon. In the *Colloquy of Archbishop Alfric,* of the 10. century, we find *nyt-* used in the three senses of "ignavus, pecus, utilis."[74] Here "propter mentis meae *ignauiam*" is translated by "for modes mines *nytenysse,*" "quid operaris nobis *utilitatis*" is translated by "hwaet wyrcst þu *nytwyrþnessae,*" "utitur" by *notaþ,* and "bruta *animalia*" by "stunte *nytenu.*" In the *Corpus Glosses* we find "nugacitas *unnytnis.*" In the Kentish glosses *netenes* is the translation of "ignominia," but more commonly *nytan* was etymologized as = *newitan,* and so *nytenys* is found as the equivalent of "ignorance." *Nyten* "animal, beast, cattle," under the influence of OHG. *noz,* produced *neát,* as which it has survived until the present. The more correct *unnyt inutilis,* "useless, vain, idle, unprofitable, ill use, hurt, disadvantage," produced *nyt, notu* "use, advantage, profit," *nyttian, notian* "to make use of, enjoy," but these words have not survived in English.

In OHGerman *niuzzan* acquired the meanings "uti, usu capere, capere, fungi," represented in Goth. *ganiutan* "to seize, catch," *nuta* "fisher, catcher," where the derivation from *inutile* is most clearly preserved. The OHG. *ganoz* "companion" is derived directly from *noz* "animal" in the following manner. In the OSaxon glosses *nōtilu* was placed over "subjugales." Iso glosses this "subjugales" by "equos, boues, et quidquid sub iugo mittitur,"[75] a meaning which closely coincides with that of OHG. *noz. Ganoz* is, therefore, "an animal that is under the same

74 Wright and Wülcker, *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies,* London 1884, vol. I, p. 88 ff.

75 Arevalo, *op. cit.,* p. 1096.

yoke with another animal, yoke-mate," precisely as is given in a 9. century gloss "par boum daz *kanozzid* ohsono."[76] This is again borne out by the Anglo-Saxon gloss in the *Corpus Glossary,* "inquilini *genaeot,*" later *geneát,* in which the relation to *neát* "beast" is obvious.

It is interesting to observe how the North German and Scandinavian forms of the word have entered into the Slavic and Finnish languages. In the north of Russia we get from the twelfth century on *nuta* "cattle," *nut'nik* "cattle merchant," and in Novgorod there was a *nut'naya ulitsa* "cattle street," while in the modern Russian dialects *nuta* means "a long row." In the south we have Slovenian *nuta* "herd," *nutnjak* "steer." The other Slavic languages do not possess the word, and thus it is clear that we have here a borrowing from the original Germanic meaning developed out of Lat. *inutile,* whereas the "uti, capere" meaning did not find its way into them. From the Scandinavian *naut* "cattle," *njota* "to use," we get Finnish *nauta* "ox," *nautitsen, nautin, niktet* "to use," Lappish *naute, navdde* "wild animal, wolf," *navddai* "rich in animals," *navdašct* "to use," Esthonian *naud, naut, naui* "money," *naudinna* "to acquire." The words have even entered into Lithuanian, where we have *nauda* "usefulness," and into Lettish, where we have *nauda* "money."

Since writing the above, it occurred to me to look up the earliest meanings for the *nuz* words in OHGerman. Among these we find *nuz, nuzza* "cultus," *nuzzan* "colere," *nuzun* "pascebantur." While these may result directly from "uti," it is interesting to observe that in the Servius gloss to *Aeneid* I. 435, "pecus" is derived from "pasci," which would corroborate the fact that we must begin with a Servius gloss.

[76] E. G. Graff, *Diutiska,* Stuttgart and Tübingen 1826, vol 1, p. 507.

Goth. *naus, sulja,* etc.

The *Lex Salica* has a law which prohibits the burying of a body in the tomb of another. It runs as follows: "Si quis hominem mortuum super alterum in *noffo* (*naufo, nauco,* etc.) aut in petra miserit."[77] Two of the codices are followed by the gloss, "quae vasa ex usu sarcofagi dicuntur," and the Pithoean gloss explains *noffus* as "sarcofagus ligneus." This word occurs only once more, in *Leges Henrici* 83, 5,[78] where it is obviously a quotation from the *Lex Salica,* and is totally unknown in any connotation in LLatin or in OFrench. We have, indeed, the phrase "sacrosancta pignora palleis ac *nafis* exornata" in Gregory of Tours' *De gloria confessorum*,[79] but here "ac nafis" is obviously a mistake for *agnafis* "new",[80] and so we are left with only the word in the Salic Law.

The Salic law is an extension of the fifteenth decree of the Council of Auxerre, "non licet mortuum super mortuum mitti," of the end of the sixth century,[81] as is evidenced by the identical phrase "mortuum super alterum mittere" of the Salic law. But the incomprehensible *noffus* has arisen from a misunderstanding of the corresponding seventeenth decree of the Council of Macon in 585, where it says in an exceedingly corrupt text that the bodies are placed in old tombs on top of bodies which are hardly decomposed, and that other men's tombs are usurped for one's own dead, *which is a sin,* without the

77 J. H. Hessels, *Lex Salica,* London 1880, cols. 96, 97, 98, 352, 354, 356, 358, 359.

78 "Et si quis corpus in terra uel *noffo* uel petra sub pyramide uel structura qualibet positum sceleratis infamacionibus effodere uel exspoliare presumpserit, wargus habeatur," Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen,* Halle a. S. 1898-1906, p. 600.

79 *MGH., Scrip. rer. merov.,* vol. I, p. 759.

80 Wölfflin's *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie,* vol II, p. 131.

81 *MGH., Leges,* sect. III. 1, p. 181.

consent of the owners of the tombs.[82] Bodies so buried are to be removed from the tombs by the authority of the laws. The laws to which this decree refers are the Roman laws *De sepulcri violatoribus,* which were also in vogue in the *Lex romana raetica curiensis* (XVIII. 5),[83] and the *Lex Visigothorum* (XI. 2. 1).[84] The composer of the Salic law found *quod nefas est* of the Macon decree interlarded between "others" and "religious places for his dead," and jumped to the conclusion that *nefas,* read by him as *nofus,* was a gloss to "religious places for the dead." Thus *noffus* became the equivalent of "tomb," and, since *petra* seemed to refer to "stone tombs," *noffus,* according to the Pithoean gloss, became "a wooden tomb, coffin." It even entered into Arabic as ناووس *nāwūs* "burial place of Christians, a coffin in which a corpse is enclosed." The writer of the Bavarian Laws was equally puzzled by this *nefas,* or the corrupted form which stood for it, and so to the series of laws about the dead and about tombs attached the perfectly incoherent law in this connection that he who steals another person's boat, *navem,* must return it, and, in case of taking it across the water, must be considered a thief.[85] This is in reality a repetition of the Salic law *De navibus furatis* XXI, which has nothing in common with *De sepulcri violatoribus,* but which made

[82] "Comperimus multos necdum marcidata mortuorum membra sepulchra reserare et mortuos suos superimponere vel aliorum, *quod nefas est,* mortuis suis relegiosa loca usurpare, sine voluntate scilicet domini sepulchrorum. Ideoque statuemus, ut nullus deinceps hoc peragat. Quod si factum fuerit secundum legum auctoritatem superimposita corpora de eisdem tumulis reiactentur," *ibid.,* p. 171.

[83] *MGH., Leges,* vol. V, p. 399.

[84] *MGH., Leges Visigothorum,* p. 403.

[85] "Si quis *navem* alterius tulerit de loco suo, ipsam inlaesam reddat aut similem. Si eam foras aquam traxerit et absconderit, et negaverit interrogatus, furtivum conponat" (XIX. 9-10), *MGH., Leges,* vol. III, p. 329.

it necessary to identify *navis* "ship" with "a wooden coffin."

The silly way in which the Salic laws were formed out of scraps of Roman and ecclesiastic laws is well illustrated in the case of the violation of tombs. Another Salic law reads: "Si quis *aristatonem* super hominem mortuum capulauerit" (XVIII. 3).[86] Other codices read for *aristatonem* also *cheristonicam, cheristaduna,* and add "aut *selaue* que est *ponticulus* (*porticulus*) sequentem mortuum" (LV. 3).[87] The *Lex emendata* has it: "Si quis *aristatonem* hoc est stapplus super mortuum missus capulauerit, aut *mandualem,* quod est ea structura, siue *selaue* qui est *ponticulus,* sicut mos antiquorum faciendum fuit" (LVII. 3).[88] In this *Lex emendata* "hoc est stapplus, quod est ea structura, qui est ponticulus" are glosses to the older law. But *mandualem* is not a word, but a misunderstanding of the Malloberg gloss *mandoado*),[89] which itself rests on a misreading.

It is easy enough to see that this Salic law is a misrepresentation of IX. 17. 4 of the Theodosian Code: "Si quis igitur de sepulchro abstulerit saxa, vel marmora, vel columnas, aliamue quamque materiam," due to a slavish following of a Greek translation of this law. The corresponding law in the *Basilica* reads: " Ἐάν τις ἀπὸ τάφου ἀφέληται λίθους ἢ κίονας, ἢ μάρμαρα, ἢ ἄλλην οἱανδήποτε ὕλην" (LX. 23. 14). Here μάρμαρα became *mandoado, madoalle,* ὕλη was translated by *silva* and then corrupted to *silaue, selaue.* Now *Cod. Theod.* IX. 17. 5 distinctly forbids the carrying away of ornamentations from the *triclinia* and *porticus* of the tombs. It was, therefore, natural for the writer of *Cod. 10* of the *Lex Salica* to connect *silaue* with

86 Hessels, *op. cit.*, cols. 96, 97.
87 *Ibid.*, cols. 347, 349.
88 *Ibid.*, col. 350.
89 *Ibid.*, col. 349.

porticulus, and to write "*silaue* quod est *porticulus,*" which in the *Lex emendata* became *ponticulus.* It is also clear from the close resemblance of the Salic law to that of the Theodosian Code that *aristato, cheristaduna* is some corruption for a word designating a column or building of columns. The Pithoean gloss says "*aristatonem* staplum super mortuum missum," that is, "a structure above the interred body." Now Vitruvius tells us specifically that the square corner pilasters on which the rafters rested were called *parastatae* (V. 1), from the Gr. παραστὰς. We thus have in the corrected Salic law about the violation of tombs an attempt at introducing the architectural terms already used in the Theodosian Code or glosses to them, in such a way as to make it clear that the law had in mind the destruction of ancient Roman tombs. To make the case doubly certain, the *Lex emendata* ends with the words "sicut mos antiquorum faciendum fuit.'" Clearly *aristatonem, cheristaduna,* etc., are corruptions of *parastatae.*

The transformation of *silva* to *silava, sclava* was caused by an attempt to bring this word in line with *solea,* which, according to Festus, had the meaning of "sill, foundation beam," [90] and which in Byzantium, as σολέα, was the name for "the elevated portion of the floor in front of the inner sanctuary of a church." It is clear that by glossing *silaua* by "porticus" the writer of the Salic law had in mind the raised structure on beams or columns, which rose over the tomb. In Romance countries, more especially in France, we have recorded *sola, soliva, suliva,* [91] hence OFr. *celive, solive* "beam," *suel* "threshold."

[90] "*Solea,* ut ait Verrius, est non solum ea, quae solo pedis subicitur, sed etiam pro materia robustea, super quam paries craticius extruitur."

[91] This also in England, where we are distinctly told that it means heavy foundation beams; "Debet et 3 *sulivas,* id est tres magnas tra-

In Gothic we have from Lat. *solea* both *sulja* "sole" and *gasúljan* "to found," the latter, however, from the secondary meaning "foundation beam." This is obvious from its being the translation of Gr. Θεμελιοῦν, for Θεμέλιον is the precise Greek equivalent of Lat. *solea* "raised platform." In Anglo-Saxon we have early *syll, sulle* "basis," and similarly Icel. *syll, sylla,* OHG. *swelli.* It will be observed that in OFrench we have from the start a distinction between *soliva, suliva* "any kind of beam," and *suel* "foundation beam." From OFrench this distinction was perpetuated in all the Germanic languages. We have, therefore, Goth. *sauls,* OHG. *sūl,* AS. *sȳl* "column," a meaning intended by the Salic law glossator. That these are identical with *soliva* in meaning is proved by the OHG. *sūl,* which in the Bavarian laws means "upright beam," although translated by Lat. "columna." There is reference there to *firstsul* "the beam upholding the roof," and *winchilsul* "the corner upright beam." [92]

Thus it is seen that the Salic law is responsible for the formation of LLat. *soliva* out of *silva.* In a similar way the Salic law caused the formation of OFr. *nau* "coffin" from *nefas, navis,* and its distribution among the Germanic nations. The Gothic took *navis* as a gloss to "mortuis suis" and produced *naus,* gen. *nawis* "corpse" and *ganawistrōn* "to bury." The curious ending *-istrōn* is very likely due to a welding of *navis* with *petra* of the Salic law, that is, the Goths took *navis* to mean "corpse" and a

bes supponere. Sciendum est, quod omnes *sulivae* quae in ponte illo ponentur, tantae grossitudinis debent esse, quae bene possint sustinere omnia gravia pondera superjacentium plancarum et omnium desuper transeuntium rerum," Ernulfus, Episcopus Roffensis, in Ducange, sub *sulida.*

92 "Si eam columnam, a qua culmen sustentatur, quam *firstsul* vocant," I. 10. 7; "Si interioris aedificii illam columnam eicerit, quam *winchilsul* vocant," I. 10. 8.

corruption of *petra* to be the real word for "burial place," hence the combination. AS. *neo* "corpse" has not survived, but ONorse *nár* "corpse," from the form *nawi,* found its way into the ORussian as *navĭ.* None of the other Slavic languages possess the word. It is found, however, in Lettish as *nāve* "death," *nāvēt* "to kill." [93]

Goth. *nauþjan.*

The Lat. *navare* "to work with a vim" assumed in the Middle Ages the specific meaning "to urge on, compel." We have the following significant glosses:

Nauat, nauit cogit conpellit uel accelerat, *Vat.* 3321, IV. 122,
Nabat cogit conpellit accellerat, *Abav.,* IV. 367,
Nauat cogit conpellit accelerat, *Aff.,* IV. 540,
Nauat coitum pellit adcelerat, *Ampl. II,* V. 312.

The specific meaning represented by this word is due to the use of *navare* as a legal term in the West for "to coerce, put under duress, torment, annoy," as evidenced by a Portuguese document of the year 999. [94] If to this be added the extremely common glosses for *navat, ganavat, gnavat* "fortiter exsequitur," we at once see how this got into the Keronian glosses as "coegit *canaota*" (*SS.* I. 76), which was taken as a past tense and was corrected by the other glos-

[93] Ibn Fadlan's account of the burial of the Russes, that is, Scandinavians, in a ship, is of no value for the determination of such a custom among the Norsemen, because the reference is to the burial of a Russ merchant at Itil, whither he had come in his ship. As all his possessions, including a favorite maiden, were burned with him, the burning of the ship is a matter of course.

[94] "Dum accepit ipsa carta donationis filiauit nostros homines et pendorabit et religauit et pressit alias hereditates super munitione de ipso plazo, et filauit nostro porto et parauit ibidem suo barco et *nauuabit* nostros homines et maliauit nostro barcario et exiuit nobis inde multa superbia et malefactoria super nostros homines," *PMH., Diplomata et chartae,* vol. I, p. 112.

sators to *kinotda, kanaotit.* Thus arose the OHG. *nōtjan* "cogere, exigere, angariare," *einginodi* "lautumiae carceris," *ainoti* "ergastulum" of the Keronian glosses. The Goth. *nauþjan* "to coerce," *nauþs* "coercion, trouble," *naudibandi* "fetters," the ONorse *nauð* "distress," *nauðga* "to compel," the OPruss. *nautin* "need" all show that the original form of OHG. *naota* was derived from *nauat,* and the Boh. *naviti* "to undergo trouble," Lett. *nāwitĕs* "to be tormented," Lith. *novīti* "to torture" indicate that in OHGerman *naota* was originally felt as a *-ta* past of *nau,* or that the Lat. *navare* was far more common as a legal term than indicated by the slim references. The rich Slavic group from OBulg. *nud-* "compel, urge on, annoy" may have been derived directly from the ONorse, but the Magyar forms *nódit, nógat* "to urge on" seem to indicate a widespread influence of the Provençal forms which themselves owe their origin to Goth. *ananaudjan* "to annoy, ἀγγαρεύειν."

This Goth. *ananaudjan* produced a large variety of Provençal and French forms, one of which, the Latinized *anogat* "taedet," is already recorded in the Reichenau glosses. OProvençal records *enoc, enuit, enueg, nois,* etc. We also have MProv. *enodi, enugi, enuei,* etc., Catalan *anuig, enuig,* Span., Port. *enojo,* OFr. *enui,* Ital. *noja,* etc. While there would be no difficulty, either phonetically or semantically, in deriving Prov. *nauza, nosa, noisa,* OFr. *noise* "quarrelling, wrangling, noise" from the same root, in reality these words have arisen from Arab. نازع *nāzaʿa* "he wrangled, contended, disputed, litigated."

Goth. *hlaiw.*

It has been assumed that Goth. *hlaiw* "grave" and the corresponding Germanic words are derived from the same root as Lat. *clivus* "hill," but that is quite impossible,

since the group to which Goth. *hlaiw* belongs does not mean "hill," but "tombstone, grave." This is shown by the fact that the Gothic is usually a translation of Gr. μνημεῖον or τάφος. OHG. *hlaco, laco, leo, leuuo* "monumentum, tumulus, agger," AS. *hlaēw, hlāw, hlāu, hlēw* "monumentum, tumulus, cave, interior of a mound" all prove that we have the original meaning and forms in the Keronian glosses:

mansoleum *holeo, hlaeo*
sepulchrum.

Of these, *holeo* is the older. It is formed from *Mausoleum*, which is given in the form *musileo,*[95] etc., "sepulchrum, monumentum." *Mausoleum* was early confused with *musivum* (opus) "mosaic," hence we have for the latter also the forms *mausoleum* (opus), *mauscolum, mausole*, and Papias also gives *museleum*. The confusion was natural, since *mausoleum* referred to a precious tomb.[96] *Mausoleum* came to mean "Mausus' tomb," as though from *Mausi* + *olco,* and the Germans bragged of an equally fine monument in the case of "Drusus' tomb," which they named *Trusilēh* "Drusus, cuius mogontie est tumulus" (Ekkehard IV, in *SS.*, vol. II, p. 359). Just as Goth. *saiws* was formed from OHG. *sco*, so *hlaiw* was formed from OHG. *holeo, hleo.*

Goth. *marisaiws.*

Jerome's *Onomastica sacra* gives the following alternate etymologies for *Maria* "Mary":

Maria inluminatrix mea uel inluminans eos aut zmyrna maris aut stella maris (14. 7).

95 Goetz, *Corp. gloss. lat.*, vol. V, p. 312.

96 "Artemisia quoque uxor Mausoli... mirae magnitudinis exstruxit sepulcrum, intantum ut usque hodie omnia sepulcra preciosa ex nomine eius mausolaea nuncupentur," Jerome, *Ad Jovinianum*, I. 44, Migne, vol. XXIII, col. 274.

Mariam plerique aestimant interpretari inluminant me isti uel inluminatrix uel zmyrna maris. sed mihi nequaquam uidetur. melius est autem ut dicamus sonare eam stellam maris siue amarum mare (62. 16).

Maria sermone syro domina nuncupatur (62. 19).

Several MSS. read for *stella stilla,* which is unquestionably the older form, since it corresponds to Gr. σμύρνα [97] "myrrh," the first part of the word, although, for some unknown reason, Jerome substitutes *stella* for it. The forms *stilla* and *stella* are still common in the ninth century, [98] but *stilla* has then the meaning "small, quiet river." [99] *Stilla* and *stella,* however, were confused, and *stilla* was taken to be "a fallen star," [100] from a confusion caused by Isidore's "*stellae* dictae a stando" (III. 71. 3), "gutta est quae stat, *stilla,* quae cadit... inde fit diminutivum, ut dicamus *stilla:* dum autem stat, aut pendet de tectis vel arboribus, quasi gluttinosa gutta est; dum ceciderit, *stilla* est" (XIII. 20. 5). One can see how *stilla,* becoming confused with *stella,* assumes by degrees the meaning "water at rest, stagnant water."

We have already seen that OHG. *seo* goes back to an Arabic etymon. [101] In reality this etymon only helped the ghost word from the *Maria* gloss to be adopted more easily. Jerome's "*Maria* inluminatrix aut... aut stella maris" produced in the Keronian glosses "*Maria* inluminat maria

97 F. Wutz, *Onomastica sacra,* Leipzig, 1914, vol. I. pp. 232 f., 441 f.

98 "Quod ut fiat, stella maris, sive illuminatrix Maria, inter fluctivagas undas pelagi, fide ac moribus sequenda est, ne mergamur undis diluvii," Paschasius, *Expositio in Matthaeum,* I. 1, in Migne, vol. CXX, col. 94.

99 "Neque stillam quantacunque, magnis comparare fluminibus," Paschasius, *Espositio in Psalmum XLIV, ibid.,* col. 1038.

100 "*Stilla* ab *stella* quid differt? quia dum stat, *stella,* cum ceciderit, *stilla*" (Goetz, vol. V, p. 152).

101 Vol. I, p. 202.

inliuhtit" (*SS.*, vol. I, p. 212), but in the Hrabanian glosses, "*maria* seo t stilla maris," that is, "inluminat" and "zmyrna maris" dropped out and left, instead of "aut aut" the combination "seo t (vel)."

Stilli became an OHG. equivalent for "stagnum," hence "stagnum lacum siue quod stat *stilli* uuac edho das *stillo* stat" (*SS.*, vol. I, p. 252), "procella *unstilli*" (p. 230), "quietum *stilli*" (p. 236), etc. It is also found in OSaxon as "*stilli* tranquillus, *stillo* tacite, *stillon* conticescere, sedari." It is not found in the Anglo-Saxon glossaries, but got into the language later. The word is completely lacking in Gothic. In the Hrabanian gloss we have "stagnum seo seu pah" or "seo vel seopah" (p. 252). Here *Maria* has dropped out on both sides of the lemma, but the Goths, conscious not only of the relation of *seo* to the Arabic for "swamp," but also of the identity of sound of *Maria* with Arab. مرع *mariʿ* "swamp," took the whole combination *Maria seo* as an equivalent of "stilla maris," and created their *marisaiws,* while on Frankish territory this gloss gave *mares, mariscus,* etc.[102]

OHG. *ruhc.*

The Keronian glosses (*SS.*, vol. I, p. 205) have

Lucas ipse consurgens siue eleuans
ruhç selpo irstantenti edho irhefendi,

which is based on the lemma in the *Onomastica sacra:* "*Lucas* ipse consurgens siue ipse eleuans" (pp. 111, 114). There are also the glosses "*Lucius* ipse suscitans, *Lycaonia* ad suscitandum" (p. 103), "*Lucius* ipse eleuans uel consurgens" (p. 108). One can see in what a roundabout way the *Lucas* gloss arose. *Lycaonia* was made equal to Heb. לָקוּם *laqqūm,* and this was literally explained as

[102] See vol. I, p. 172 ff.

la + *qūm* "ad consurgendum."[103] *Lucius* and *Lucas* were derived from *Lycaonia,* and thus arose the gloss "ipse consurgens." The Keronian gloss wrote *ruhç* for *Lucas* and the Hrabanian gloss has *haruga.* What happened is this: the Gothic glossator could not locate the Hebrew word for *Lucas,* which would be equivalent to "ipse consurgens," but he knew that the Arab. عروج *'urūǵ* meant "to mount, ascend," عريج *'arīǵ* "high, elevated," and so he wrote *"haruga, ruhç"* for it. One tumble having been taken, the next glossator proceeded on this slippery philologic course and equalled *haruga* with *lucus* "grove," hence the half dozen glosses "lucus, nemus, *haruga, haraga*" in the *Reichenau Codex* 86.[104] In the Hrabanian glosses we have the additional meanings "fanum, capitolium, delubra" for the word, while the *Reichenau Codex* has *haraga* "ara" and *harugara* "aruspices." This secondary identification is really not so daring as it might seem, for it rests on an implicit identification in Jerome, who makes "excelsa," "ara" and "nemus" one.[105] In Anglo-Saxon we find early *haerg* "lupercal, sacellum" and later *heorh, herh* "temple, idol," ONorse *hörgr* "a heathen place of worship." In Gothic the word is wanting, because no parts of the Old Testament text in Gothic have been preserved in which the Vulgate has *lucus* for the "heathen places of worship," the *asherahs* of the Hebrew text.

103 Wutz, *op. cit.*, p. 548.

104 *Diutiska* I, pp. 491-533.

105 "Excelsa autem, quae Hebraice appellantur Bamoth, sive aram Topheth, quae est in valle filiorum Ennom, illum locum significat, qui Siloe fontibus irrigatur; et est amoenus atque nemorosus, hodieque hortorum praebet delicias," *Comment. in Jeremiam Prophetam,* II. 7. 31, in Migne, vol. XXIV, col. 735; also *Comment. in Ezechielem,* II. 6. 13, *ibid.,* vol. XXV, col. 61.

Goth. *maiþms.*

We have Goth. *maiþms* "gift," ONorse *meiðmar* "gifts, presents," AS. *māðum, māðm, maðm* "a precious or valuable thing (as a gift), treasure, jewel, ornament," OSax. *mēthom* "present, precious thing," for which no etymology is known. These are all derived from Jerome's "*Mathana* donum" (*Onom. sac.*, 19. 8), "*Matthan* donata uel donans" (46. 12, 62. 15), "*Matthaeus* donatus quondam" (62. 20, 70. 1), all of which are from Heb. מַתָּן *matthan* "gift."

Uulthres.

The famous *Codex Brixianus* has come down in a volume in which are inserted two parchment pages that contain part of an Introduction to a glossarial work, obviously written by a Goth. This Introduction runs as follows:[106]

"Sanctus Petrus apostolus et discipulus saluatoris, domini nostri Jesu Cristi, edocens fideles propter diuersitatem adsertionis linguarum admonet cunctos—ut in octauo libro Clementis continet scribtum—dicens sic: 'audite me conserui dilectissimi. bonum est, ut unusquisque uestrum secundum quod potest prosit accedentibus ad fidem religionis nostrae. et ideo non uos pigeat secundum sapientiam, quae uobis per dei prouidentiam conlata est, disserentes instruere, ignaros edocere: ita tamen ut his quae a me audistis et tradita sunt uobis uestri tantum sermonis eloquentiam societis, nec aliquid proprium et quod uobis non est traditum proloquamini, etiamsi uobis uerisimile uideatur. Sed, ut dixi, quae ipse a uero propheta suscepta uobis tradidi prosequimini, etiamsi minus plenae adsertionis esse uidebuntur.'

[106] Reproduced from Kauffmann's *Beiträge zur Quellenkritik der gotischen Bibelübersetzung*, in *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, vol. XXXII, p. 309 ff.

"Et ideo ne in interpraetationibus linguarum, secundum quae in interiora libri ostenduntur, legenti uideatur aliud in Graeca lingua, aliud in Latina uel Gotica, designata esse conscribta: illud aduertat quis, quod si pro disciplina linguae discrepationem ostendit, ad unam tamen intentionem concurrit. quare nullus exinde titubare debet de quod ipsa auctoritas manifestat secundum intentione linguae. propter declinationes sonus uocis diligenti perceptione statuta sunt, ut in subsequentibus conscribta leguntur.

"Haec res fecit probanter publicare propter aliquos qui falsa adsertione secundum uolumtate sua mendacia in lege uel in euangeliis per interpraetationem propria posuerunt. quare illa declinantes haec posita sunt, quae antiquitas legis in dictis Graecorum contineri inveniuntur, et ipsas etymologias linguarum conueniente sibi conscribtas ad unum sensum concurrere demonstrantur. nam et ea conuenit indicare, pro quod in uulthres factum est—latina uero lingua adnotatio significatur—quare id positum est, agnosci possit. ubi littera .gr. super uulthre inuenitur, sciat qui legit quod in ipso uulthre secundum quod Graecus continet scribtum est. ubi uero littera .la. super uulthre inuenitur, secundum latina lingua in uulthre ostensum est. et ideo ista instructio demonstrata ta est, ne legentes ipsos uulthres non perciperent, pro qua ratione positi sint. sed quod..."

Kauffman draws the conclusion that it was written about the year 400 by a Goth, who, with Rufinus, from whose *Recognitiones* he quotes a passage, was opposed to Jerome's innovation as a translator; and he further jumps to the conclusion that Sunnia and Fretela, to whom a letter from Jerome is extant, composed this Introduction. It is not difficult to prove that this interesting composition was made about the year 800 by a Spanish Goth.

The Introduction is written in uncials, hence it has been assumed to be very old. We find here the *nomina*

sacra written *scs, dn̄i nostri ih̄u xp̄i, d̄i.* These are precisely the same abbreviations as are found in the *Codex Toletanus 15, 8,* written after 733. Here we have *scs* (fol. 57ra, lin. 34 ff.), *d̄ne* (fol. 1ra, lin. 21), *īhu* (fol. 53ra, lin. 14), *xpi* (p. XXIII), *dī* (fol. 55rb, lin. 22). This in itself is sufficient proof that we are dealing here with a Spanish source. Indeed, Traube has specifically referred to these abbreviations as being a *prima facie* proof of Spanish palaeography.[107]

When we turn to the text itself, we are confronted with some abominable Latin, such as even an uneducated Goth could not have produced about the year 400. The passage from Rufinus' *Recognitiones* (VIII. 37) is quoted without a mistake from one of the numerous manuscripts which were written down in the eighth century. Rufinus was a much read author even later, and his works were frequently copied; hence it is absurd to assume that a quotation from Rufinus presupposes it having been made during his lifetime. The moment the writer has to fall back upon his own Latin, we get such execrable Latin as "secundum quae in interiora libri ostenduntur, designata esse conscribta, in subsequentibus conscribta leguntur, haec res fecit probanter publicare, pro quod in uulthres factum est, secundum quod Graecus continet scribtum est." Besides, we have the peculiar grammatical forms "secundum volumtate sua, secundum intentione linguae, per interpraetationem propria, secundum latina lingua," which are characteristically late. The style is distinctly that of a man speaking Latin of the Romance period, and cannot possibly be older than the eighth century.

107 "Die Freisinger Fragmente der Paulinischen Briefe München lat. 6436, wo wenigstens das Fragment fol. 16 mit *dnī nsī ihū xpī* spanischen Ursprung deutlich zur Schau trägt," L. Traube, *Nomina sacra*, München 1907, p. 190 f.

I have already shown that the uncial was used by all those who wanted to give an aspect of antiquity to their statements or forgeries. It is interesting to observe that the Anglo-Saxon uncial forgery, intended for the year 679, has precisely the same abbreviations in the *nomina sacra* as has our Introduction. Here we find *dñi nostri ihū xp̄i.*[108] The same is true of the uncial charter for 692,[109] where we have *dñi ñ. ihu xp̄i* and *sc̄is*, and of the uncial charter of the year 736,[110] where we have *dñi ñi ihū xp̄i.* What is still more significant, the majority of the false eighth century and of the ninth century Anglo-Saxon charters have identical or similar abbreviations. Thus the antiquity of the Introduction in the *Codex Brixianus*, based on the uncial script and the *nomina sacra*, is completely invalidated.[111]

Kauffmann makes capital of the words "falsa adsertione," because these remind one of the accusation cast against Jerome, who was called a "falsarius," and who had tried to refute this charge. But what expounder was not called a "falsarius" by some other expounder who did not agree with him? How often has Jerome accused others of lying and of corrupting the text![112] In this way anything may be proved about anybody.

All that can be made out from the Introduction is that the writer supplied the Gothic text with references to the

108 *Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in the British Museum*, 1873, Part I, charter 1.

109 *Ibid.*, charter 2.

110 *Ibid.*, charter 7.

111 W. Lindsay has shown in his *Notae latinae*, Cambridge 1915, that these abbreviations are widely distributed after the year 700.

112 "Studii ergo nostri erit, vel eorum, qui de libris Hebraicis varia suspicantur, errores refellere: vel ea quae in Latinis et Graecis codicibus scatere videntur, auctoritati suae reddere," *Praefatio in Liber Hebraicarum Quaestionum in Genesim*, in Migne, vol. XXIII, col. 936; "illico animadverti quae Origenes de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto impie dixerat," *Apologia adversus libros Rufini*, I. 6, *ibid.*, col. 401; "quare Origenistas scripserim inter se orgiis mendaciorum foederari," I. 18, *ibid.*, col. 412, etc.

Latin or Greek correspondence to a particular word, by writing over it the abbreviation .la. for "Latin" and .gr. for "Greek." The writer calls such notes in the text *uulthres,* and says distinctly that *uulthres* is a Latin word which means "adnotatio." Nothing else can be construed from the sentence: "Pro quod in *uulthres* factum est—latina uero lingua adnotatio significatur." What he had in mind is what Isidore calls "notae *vulgares*," the Tironian notes, which he explains as "signs used to remind of words and syllables and to attract the attention of the readers."[113] It is not difficult to see what has caused *vulgares* to be corrupted into *uulthres.*

The Visigothic Law refers to brandings on animals and to X marks on trees as *caracteres.*[114] How seriously the signs on the trees were regarded is proved by frequent references to them as demanded by the *Lex Gotorum.*[115] We find this *caracter* in Greek as χαλακτήρ[116] and in the Talmud כַּלְקְטִירִין, כַּלְקְטוּרִין *kalqtūrīn, kalqtīrīn* "brand mark." Strangely, this word is frequently written בלקמירין *balqtīrīn* or *valqtīrīn*, no doubt through a confusion with φυλακτήριον, for which the Talmudic word is really בלקטירין. It is, therefore, likely that a form resembling the Gothic form *uulthres* was already known in Spain when Isidore's

113 "Notae (*vulgares*) autem dictae eo, quod verba vel syllabas praefixis characteribus notent et ad notitiam legentium revocent," I. 22.

114 "Caballis etiam aut bubus vel aliis quibus libet pecoribus errantibus nulli liceat *caracteres* infigere," VIII. 5, 8; "faciat tres decurias, que vocantur *caracteres*, unde potius per unum caracterem fraus nascatur," VIII. 6. 1.

115 "Dederunt ad ipsa cella terminia et fuerunt fixorias et fecerunt *caractera*, sicut Lex Gotorum continet" (832), *Histoire de Languedoc*, vol. II, col. 178; "sic inter dicto villare et villare qui vocant Gurgos terminos et limites misit.... per ipsum ilicem ubi ipse comis *caractere* facere ordinavit" (834), *ibid.*, col. 186; "invenimus ibidem *caracterem* Sancti Vincenti, et ex inde in alia petra invenimus crucem" (921), *España sagrada*, vol. XVIII, p. 320.

116 C. Leemans, *Papyri graeci*, Lugduni Batavorum 1885, vol. II, p. 161.

"*vulgares* notae" definitely settled the form in which it appears in Gothic.

That Lat. *vulgatus* meant precisely "explained, made clear" is proved by the glosses "*vulgata* in notitia data" of *Sang. 912* (IV. 297), "*vulgatum est* manifestum est" of *Aff.* (IV. 580), "*vulgatum* omnibus patefactum," *Vat. 3321* (IV. 196). This was confused with "*vultus* quo ostenditur animi voluntas," which follows soon after these glosses, particularly since we have the specific gloss "χαρακτηρ *uultus* titulus haec figura nota hoc liniamentum" (II. 475), "hic *uultus* τὸ εἶδος ὁ χαρακτήρ" (II. 543), "caractyr nota, stufi uultus" (III. 174).

That this Lat. *uultus* actually entered into the formation of Goth. *uulthres* is shown by the shorter Gothic forms, *wulþus* "δόξα, glory," *wulþags* "glorious, wonderful." The relation between the two forms is made clear through the AS. *wuldorlic* "ortodoxos," *wulderbeah* "corona," recorded in the glossaries, and the extremely common use of *wuldor* for "glory."

It is interesting to observe how the Lat. *vultus* came to mean "glory" in Gothic and Anglo-Saxon. That the "face of God" was identical with "glory" may be inferred from 2 Cor. III. 7, where we have "propter gloriam vultus ejus." But we have direct references to the identification in Jerome. Origen discusses at great length Psalm IV. 7, "ἐσημειώθη ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τὸ φῶς τοῦ προσώπου σου", and makes it clear that "τὸ φῶς τοῦ προσώπου" refers to "the glory of God," hence he quotes, among others, Ezechiel IX. 3, "καὶ δόξα Θεοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἀνέβη", as identical in meaning with the sentence in the Psalm. Jerome, no doubt, had Origen in mind, for he quotes him in the same connection, when he explains "signatum est super nos *lumen vultus* tui" by "in cuius facie lumen Domini signatum est, iste

revelata facie *gloriam* Domini contemplatur."[117] This identification is still better brought out in Jerome's *Tractatus de Psalmo LXVI,* where "inluminet *vultum* suum super nos" is explained thus: "Dei facies quae est? utique imago eius. Dicit enim apostolus, imaginem Patris esse Filium. Ergo imagine sua nos inluminet, hoc est, imaginem suam Filium inluminet super nos, ut et ipse nos inluminet. Lux enim Patris, lux Filii est. Qui videt Patrem, videt et Filium; et qui videt Filium, videt et Patrem: *ubi nulla distantia est inter gloriam et gloriam, uterque est gloria.*" [118]

Thus arose Goth. *wulþus,* AS. *wuldor* "glory." The word took root in OHGerman in the form *wunder, wuntar* "miracle, marvel," whence it entered into OSaxon and much later into Anglo-Saxon as *wundor* "wonder." But the word *uulthres* did not enter into any Germanic language, even as it was a mere corrupt Lat. *vulgares* and meant "note." It did, however, produce Goth. *wulþrs* "worthy of notice." It is also clear that the word could not have entered into the Gothic language before "*vulgares* notae" had received the especial meaning of "Tironian notes" or "notes in general," which could not well have been before the time of Isidore of Seville.

117 G. Morin, *Sancti Hieronymi Presbyteri qui deperditi hactenus putabantur commentarioli in Psalmos,* in *Anecdota Maredsolana,* Maredsoli 1895, vol. III, pars I, p. 12.

118 *Ibid.,* pars II, p. 31.

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Arab.=Arabic. — *Arab. (Alc.)*=Spanish-Arabic, recorded by Pedro de Alcalá. — *Aram.*=Aramaic. — *AS.*=Anglo-Saxon. — *Boh.*=Bohemian. — *Cat.*=Catalan. — *Copt.*=Coptic. — *Cro.*=Croatian. — *Egyp.*=Egyptian. — *Eng.*=English. — *Esth.*=Esthonian. — *Finn.*=Finnish. — *Ger.*=German. — *Ger. (d)*=German dialect. — *Goth.*=Gothic. — *Gr.*=Greek. — *Heb.*=Hebrew. — *Icel.*=Icelandic. — *Ital.*=Italian. — *Lapp.*=Lappish. — *Lat.*=Latin. — *Lett.*=Lettish. — *Lith.*=Lithuanian. — *LLat.*=Low Latin or Late Latin. — *Mag.*=Magyar. — *MDut.*=Middle Dutch. — *MHG.*=Middle High German. — *MLG.*=Middle Low German. — *MProv.*=Modern Provençal. — *MRuss.*=Modern Russian. — *OBul.*=Old Bulgarian. — *OFr.*=Old French. — *OHG.*=Old High German. — *ON.*=Old Norse. — *OProv.*=Old Provençal. — *OPruss.*=Old Prussian. — *ORuss.*=Old Russian. — *OS.*=Old Saxon. — *OSpan.*=Old Spanish. — *OSwed.*=Old Swedish. — *Pers.*=Persian. — *Pol.*=Polish. — *Port.*=Portuguese. — *Prov.*=Provençal. — *Russ.*=Russian. — *Scan.*=Scandinavian. — *Skrt.*=Sanskrit. — *Slov.*=Slovenian. — *Span.*=Spanish. — *Syr.*=Syriac. — *Turk.*=Turkish.

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